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ABSTRACT

This book offers direction for the teacher who wants to know what can be done to improve the effectiveness of language and reading instruction. Part 1 focuses on the issues in teaching black children to read and provides the teacher with an orientation to some of the specific problems in the field such as the question of the existence and nature of black dialects, whether black English speakers should be taught standard English, and what teachers need to know to be effective in the classroom which includes dialect speakers. Diagnostic tools are described in part 2 so that the teacher can identify the language base on which to build individual programs. Articles in part 3 suggest classroom strategies for teaching oral standard English to nonstandard speakers. Part 4 provides materials which guide teachers in assisting dialect speakers in their special problems with correspondence between spoken forms and written symbols in beginning reading. Part 5 contains the edited transcripts of the proceedings from a conference which provide a framework for understanding the questions that black English raises in the teaching of reading. Two special resources for teachers, including an annotated bibliography of materials on language, dialects, and reading, comprise part 6. (HOD)

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BLACK DIALECTS & READING

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CS 000 872

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PREFACE

As the body of information derived from educational research has expanded, so has the gap between research and classroom teaching. Recognizing this problem, the National Institute of Education (NIE) has charged ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) to go beyond its initial function of gathering, evaluating, indexing, and disseminating information to a significant new service: information analysis and synthesis.

The ERIC system has already made available—through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service—much informative data, including all federally funded research reports since 1956. However, if the findings of specific educational research are to be intelligible to teachers and applicable to teaching, considerable bodies of data must be reevaluated, focused, translated, and molded into an essentially different context. Rather than resting at the point of making research reports readily accessible, NIE has now directed the separate ERIC Clearinghouses to commission from recognized authorities state-of-the-art papers in specific areas.

Each state-of-the-art paper focuses on a concrete educational need. The paper attempts a comprehensive treatment and qualitative assessment of the published and unpublished material on the topic. The author reviews relevant research, curriculum trends, teaching materials, the judgments of recognized experts in the field, reports and findings from various national committees and commissions. In his analysis he tries to answer the question "Where are we?"; sometimes finds order in apparently disparate approaches; often points in new directions. The knowledge contained in a state-of-the-art paper is a necessary foundation for reviewing existing curricula, planning new beginnings, and aiding the teacher in *now* situations.

Bernard O'Donnell
Director, ERIC/RCS

FOREWORD

In classrooms where reading is being taught, many teachers have become increasingly aware that they are not equipped to work effectively with children whose language varies from standard English. At the same time, there has been a significant upswing in research and writing on dialects and reading. It is evident that the relation between dialects and reading is not clear, nor are the issues involved simple to define. Research is only beginning to provide useful evidence about the relations between nonstandard dialect speech and learning to read. Specialists contribute conflicting theories about the relations and show little agreement about the implications of their theories for practice.

Nevertheless, classroom teachers are expressing the desire for help in working with children whose language varies from standard English. Schools of education are attempting to provide the needed understanding of children's language and language differences as these relate to reading instruction. Various techniques, strategies, and materials for expanding language and teaching dialect speakers to read are now being developed and tested in classroom settings nationwide.

The recognition of widespread concern about the teaching of reading led to the formation of a Language and Reading Commission (LARC) at New York University in 1971, to bring the findings of psychologists, linguists, psycholinguists, and specialists in language development, reading methodology, and English education to bear on the problems of language learning and teaching reading. In May 1972 LARC sponsored a conference, "Black Dialects and Reading," to stimulate examination of some of the broad issues involved in language and reading and to provide a forum for discussion of language as one aspect of black culture.

This book includes the major positions that were presented by the speakers at that conference and the work of a number of researchers who participated in the conference. It aims to bridge the gap between researchers and the teachers who seek to apply their findings. On the assumption that one of the jobs of the school is to provide students with the opportunity to master standard English, both oral and written, this book offers practical direction for the teacher who wants to know what can be done to improve the effectiveness of language and reading instruction.

Part 1 focuses on the issues in teaching black children to read and provides the teacher with an orientation to some of the specific problems in the field: the question of the existence and nature of black dialects; whether black-English speakers should be taught standard English, and, if so, when and how; whether speaking standard English is prerequisite to reading standard English; how teachers' attitudes toward variety in language affect their students; what teachers need to know to be effective in a classroom which includes dialect speakers. The relationship between oral language and reading, usually simply assumed and ignored, is discussed, so that the teacher has an understanding for applications suggested in later articles.

Constant exhortations to "start where the child is" require that the teacher determine the child's language skills as they exist at school entry. Practical diagnostic tools are described in part 2 so the teacher can identify the language base on which to build individual programs. The comparison of beginning reading texts with first graders' actual speech patterns offers insights not previously available to the classroom teacher. Research results indicate that low socioeconomic black children do have language facility adequate for beginning reading instruction, as long as their language patterns are used.

Three articles in part 3 provide suggestions for classroom strategies for teaching oral standard English to nonstandard speakers. They are designed to help teachers make more effective long-term plans for oral language curriculum and to familiarize teachers with the kinds of drills and classroom techniques useful at various grade levels. Material in part 4 guides teachers in assisting dialect speakers in their special problems with correspondence between spoken forms and written symbols in beginning reading.

Part 5 contains the edited transcripts of the proceedings of the May 1972 LARC conference, which provide a framework for understanding the questions that black English raises in the teaching of reading.

Two special resources for teachers comprise part 6. The annotated bibliography directs teachers to additional materials related to language, dialects, and reading. The descriptive guide to black-English features should help teachers pinpoint specific elements of contrast between standard English and black English.

A glossary defines terms as they are used in this book.

The authors want to take this opportunity to thank the many people who have contributed in a number of ways to this manuscript. First and foremost are the children, many of whom served as subjects for the studies reported here and who are the focus of this book. Secondly, the teachers, principals, and other school personnel who made these studies possible deserve our thanks.

Recognition must be made of the leadership provided by former Dean Harry Hartley in establishing the Language and Reading Commission at NYU as a forum for interdisciplinary study and exchange of ideas. The continued support and encouragement of Deans Elmer Baker and Daniel Griffiths for LARC activities is gratefully acknowledged. Professor Lenore Ringler deserves special recognition for her role as co-director of the first LARC Conference, which provided the impetus for this publication.

Bernice Cullinan
Margaret Kocher

PART ONE

THEORETICAL ISSUES IN BLACK ENGLISH

Is black English a valid phenomenon for study? Are black English dialects well-defined? There are many varieties of standard English—is black English just one of those many varieties? Do children need to speak standard English in order to be able to read it? What are the relationships between language competence and learning to read?

Issues in Black English and Reading

Bernice E. Cullinan

Few areas of study have been subjected to such polemics as the study of black English. The current controversy is partly the result of disagreement among three distinct academic groups—educators, psychologists, and linguists—who come to the study of black English from quite varied perspectives. Within each of the three disciplines there are internal controversies about the validity of the study and applications of findings. And since the applications affect the lives and education of black children, many other interested parties, including black parents, see black English as a topic of concern for them. There are some who view even raising the issue of black English as counterproductive to the welfare of blacks. Furthermore, the social and political implications read into the topic create conditions that make objective study extremely difficult.

Traditionally, black children who spoke a nonstandard dialect of English were viewed by educators as being in need of remediation. Teachers characteristically viewed nonstandard dialects as incorrect speech to be eradicated and replaced with some form of socially acceptable speech. Educators often labeled these children as "nonverbal" and their language as "destitute," "underdeveloped," and "incorrect." Psychologists who measured nonstandard dialect-speaking children's performance on tests administered in standard English noted that many of these children did not perform well. Observations based on performance in standard English led psychologists to describe these children in terms of inadequate language and cognitive deficits.

The differing platforms from which various groups viewed the black child's language resulted in disparate recommendations for educational programs, with important consequences for the children each group was attempting to help. A few of the educational programs probably had some slight effects, but there is little evidence to support the claim that any were substantial factors in changing the language use, self-concept, or learning ability of the children involved.

It was not until linguists challenged the traditional approaches and described black English as a systematic, logical, and fully adequate communication medium that the real issues became apparent. At present there is increasing acceptance of the linguists' position that all language varieties are equally valid, that all language varieties can accommodate all levels of thought, that any variety of standard English is not intrinsically better than any nonstandard dialect, and that if social preference is shown toward one variety of language, it must be recognized as a social value and not as evidence of the cognitive superiority of the speaker.

Does Black English Exist?

The first issue which must be dealt with is whether or not there is such a thing as black English. Actually, linguists and anthropologists have been studying the speech of blacks for the past two or more decades. Until recently, however, a few linguists discounted the differences between black English and other American dialects. Kurath (1928) and McDavid and McDavid (1951) observed that the speech of uneducated Negroes differed very little from that of illiterate whites. More recent studies by Labov (1968a), Stewart (1969), Fasold and Wolfram (1970), Dillard (1972), and others now support the proposition that black English is an identifiable language variety which differs systematically from the language of southern whites as well as from network standard English.

Although some speech patterns are labeled "standard" and some "nonstandard," it is important to recognize that wide variation exists in the language used by both standard and nonstandard speakers. For example, to label the language of a group "standard English" does not mean that all members of the group use all of the features of that dialect all of the time. It does mean, however, that a large proportion of the group characteristically uses features of that dialect, so that these speakers can be identified as standard speakers. In other words, there are varieties of standard English as well as varieties of black English. Labeling the language of a group as either standard English or black English simply means that members of that group use features that are characteristically identified with one dialect or the other.

Critics who deny the existence of black English point to the wide variation found in the speech of blacks within the urban ghetto and to the variations in the speech of blacks from different parts of the country. Nonlinguists find it difficult to believe that specific features can be isolated as characteristic of black English. However, Fasold and Wolfram (1970) and Labov (1968a), linguists who have recorded the speech of blacks in New York, Detroit, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere, have identified distinctive syntactic features of black English. A summary of these distinctive features is presented in Fryburg's paper in part 6.

Several factors account for the layman's denial of the existence of black English. Some of these are:

1. There is a large overlap between black English and standard English.
2. Black English shares many features with other nonstandard dialects.
3. Many black people do not speak black English.
4. Blacks who do speak a dialect may be bidialectal to varying degrees, that is, they may use forms from both standard English and black English or may be able to speak consistently in either standard English or black English.
5. It takes a good deal of training and experience in phonology and syntax to make valid observations about dialect distinctions.
6. There is also variation among individuals and among the different styles of one individual.

Although all critics have not been quieted, black English is generally considered a valid phenomenon for study. There are enough distinctive features that even the layman can recognize when a speaker is using linguistic forms different from standard English.

Should Black-English Speakers Learn to Speak Standard English?

An issue that has become increasingly important since the acknowledgment of the validity of black English is whether or not black children who speak it should learn to speak standard English. Since some hold that the variety of English spoken by many black children is an adequate linguistic system for learning, they reason that black English should become the language of instruction. Others argue that black English should be maintained and used only in the early school years as a bridge to subsequent learning of standard English. Still another group believes that facility in black English should be retained as part of the speaker's culture but that all children should also be taught to read and speak standard English. In effect, this group is proposing that children who speak black English should become bidialectal or multidialectal. Bidialectalism is a general term referring to a speaker who is fluent in more than one dialect. In the case of the urban black child, a bidialectal speaker is one who is fluent in both black English and standard English (although precise levels of performance in either language system have not been specified) and who can speak whichever dialect is appropriate to the situation. The most reliable indicator of bidialectalism is the ability of a speaker to converse with a group of primarily black-English speakers or with a group of primarily standard-English speakers and to be considered in each case as a member of the group. That is, no notice would be paid to the manner in which he spoke, but merely to the content of what he said.

Many argue that the mainstream culture needs to increase acceptance of black English as a fully adequate linguistic system. Yet there is substantial evidence of the widespread nonacceptance of language variation. For example, in studies of attitude toward language, Shuy, Baratz, and Wolfram (1969) found that most people consistently rated the intelligence, the socioeconomic level, and the education of black-English speakers lower than they did speakers of other dialects. Labov (1966), too, found poor acceptance of black-English speech in his study of the social stratification of English in New York City. There is evidence that black children are handicapped vocationally, socially, and academically, but it is also clear that mastery of speaking and reading standard English will not entirely overcome the handicaps.

Why should blacks include standard English in their language repertoire? There is some indication that the dialect we adopt reflects a commitment to a role in life. By rejecting the language of the Establishment, some young people indicate their rejection of the values of the Establishment. On the other hand, students who view themselves as potential members of a higher socioeconomic group have the motivation to benefit from instruction and move more rapidly to the use of standard English.

To become successful in the mainstream culture, various racial and ethnic groups learned to communicate with members in the standard dialect of that culture. Countless blacks who spoke black English as children have achieved success vocationally, academically, and socially. Many who have become proficient in standard English retain facility in their native dialect. Although Labov (1968a) questions the likelihood of real expertise in both black English and standard English, many blacks demonstrate the ability to switch from one dialect pattern to another. Furhermore, nearly everyone is in some sense bidialectal, that is, each individual adapts his language style to achieve more effective communication as he mixes in different groups.

Although proposals that black children should become bidialectal make sense, it is also evident that we know very little about how to accomplish this task. If children who speak black English are to become bidialectal, however, it is clear that the attitudes of teachers and the techniques they use will be crucial. Bidialectalism has seldom been increased by restricting oral language usage in the classroom, having students fill in blanks on sterile exercises, or making them strive toward tidy language usage considered correct in English textbooks. If children are to become fluent in self-expression in the target language variety, they need many opportunities to practice it in a nonthreatening environment.

Is Productive Ability in Standard English Prerequisite to Learning to Read?

To date there has been no research to indicate that productive facility in standard English is a prerequisite for comprehending written material in standard English. Certainly children who speak black English do comprehend standard English, perhaps partly due to their exposure to the mass media and the extensive overlap of the two language systems. Equivalent comprehension of standard English and black English was found by Ramsey (1972). Her research showed there was little difference in the literal and inferential responses of black children to either language form.

Teachers have generally observed a high correlation between a child's reading, speaking, listening, and writing abilities. Ruddell's (1966) research supports these correlational observations; but correlations cannot be used to ascribe cause. Nor has productive ability in one dialect been examined in relation to comprehension ability in a second dialect.

Preliminary evidence has caused researchers to question the necessity of ability to produce standard English as a prerequisite to comprehending written standard English. Melmed (1970) constructed a test including words distinct in standard English but usually homonyms in black English. The children read a sentence aloud and selected the picture it described. Although his third grade subjects read 28 percent of the pairs using black-English phonology, they chose the wrong picture in only 5.4 percent of the cases. Ramsey (1972) found that black first graders comprehended stories presented in standard English and black English equally well. Only slight differences in the ability to detect inferences were noted in favor of the group which heard the original stories in black English. Quay (1971) administered the Stanford Binet to children in both standard English and black English and found that children performed equally well under both conditions, giving support to the premise that they do comprehend standard English as well as they understand black English. Levy (1972) showed that low socioeconomic black children used language patterns which were more complex than the patterns in the standard English textbooks which were used to teach them reading.

Although clearcut differences between black children's reception of oral black English and standard English have not been shown, differences have been demonstrated in their ability to produce black English and standard English orally. Baratz (1969) found differences in children's production of standard-English and black-English forms. Garvey and McFarlane (1970), Labov (1968a), and others have tape recorded black children's speech to demonstrate clear distinctions between standard-English and black-English productive performance. The primary question remains unanswered: If black children can comprehend oral standard English without being able to produce it, can they also comprehend written standard English without being able to speak in standard-English patterns? Rystrom and Y. Goodman (1972) are pursuing studies in this area at the present time.

What Tests Are Appropriate for Black-English Speakers?

One of the major controversies in black-English centers on testing. It has been observed that children who speak black English do not perform well on tests of intelligence and reading when the stimuli are presented in standard English. Should children first be taught to read and speak standard English? Or should measuring instruments be developed which more fairly assess performance in specific language varieties? Linguists have pointed out the inappropriateness of the instruments used to measure the educational progress of black-English speaking children. They observe that achievement tests are developed principally for standard-English speaking children and are standardized using a national sample of standard-English speakers. Relatively few, if any, black-English speaking children are included in the norming groups. This results in having children judged by standards which are not based on a representative sampling from their group.

Dialect differences are not taken into consideration in the preparation of tests, and the result is that language elements particularly confusing to the black-English speaker appear in the tests. Roberts (1970) analyzed four widely used ability tests and found numerous test items that included forms with dialectal variants. Hutchinson (1972) found that the *Metropolitan Achievement Test* contains many dialect-prejudiced items, including homophones in black English, a reduced number of distinctive features for black-English speakers, and culturally inappropriate items. In part 2 of this monograph, Fryburg discusses some alternate ways to assess children's language abilities.

Labov points out that the social situation is the most powerful determinant of verbal behavior and that an adult must enter into the right social situation with a child to find out what the child can do. In a recent article in *The Atlantic* (1972), he illustrates how researchers violate procedures needed to obtain accurate measures of children's oral abilities. Samples of one child's verbal transcript produced under two different conditions reveal striking differences in performance.

A sizeable proportion of the items on several nationally normed reading tests are based on the assumption that the test taker has a knowledge of rural areas and items found on farms. Standardized language and reading tests are called subculture specific by many sociolinguists who are now calling for tests that use communicative settings, tasks, and language compatible with the experience of the children being tested. Some have called for discontinuation of testing entirely, while others plead for a delay until black-English speakers have achieved a measure of competence in standard English. They also ask that the tests be validated within the social group in cases of fairly distinct group differences (Ervin-Tripp, 1972, p. 147).

Rather clear evidence has been accumulated to show that human beings are adversely affected by continued failure. Children from low socioeconomic levels are particularly sensitive to the assessments of their behavior made by people around them. Yee (1968) and Coleman (1966) showed that teachers' judgments affect lower-class children more than they affect middle-class children and that black children have a high level of sensitivity to the attitudes and expectations of those around them. Inappropriate tests which assure failure undoubtedly contribute to a diminished self-concept for many children.

Even if we could ignore the distortion of measuring children's abilities with tests which have little content that is meaningful to them and deny the effects of repeated failure on children's self-concept, it would be difficult to deny the impact that biased test scores have on teachers' expectations. Teachers of children with low test scores are not likely to question their own instructional techniques but tend to place the blame for poor performance on the children themselves. Using inappropriate tests and reinforcing social biases seem to create a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure and to provide the basis for faulty pronouncements about certain groups of children.

Do Teachers Need to Know about Black English?

A large corps of public school teachers educated in American teacher training institutions know very little about black English. There are educational leaders who contend that the role of public schools is to transmit the dominant culture and that our pluralistic society is made more cohesive by keeping language culture-free. Others warn of creating linguistic apartheid by emphasizing language differences instead of similarities. Another group recommends that black English be recognized as a legitimate dialect. The idea that teachers would attempt to reduce variation in the English spoken by their students is repugnant to those who believe in the dignity of the individual and his right to be different.

The few courses currently offered on black English show that public school teachers have little useful background to draw on. Pretests administered by course instructors reveal an appalling lack of information about language variation in general and black English in particular. Shuy (1970) reports that teachers confuse lack of school vocabulary with lack of overall vocabulary and pronunciation differences with grammar problems, and they are unaware of the casual styles used on occasion by even the most standard of speakers. Baratz (1970) holds that teachers need to be knowledgeable about black English in order to communicate effectively with children who speak it and in order to teach these children to read. She suggests that dialect readers may have a corollary value in exposing teachers to some of the common forms of black English, with the hope that greater knowledge of black English may help them accept it as a legitimate means of communication. Teachers of black children need considerable sophistication in the language arts, a sound knowledge of the features which distinguish black English from standard English, and teaching techniques which reflect an understanding of the linguistic competence of the students.

In a recent *New York Times* editorial, Sellers said that use of black English in instructional settings would perpetuate black English and would be a means of taking teachers off the hook for inferior pupil performance in reading and oral and written communication. Proponents of requiring teachers to know about black English hold that the opposite is true. Teachers would be held accountable for knowing as much as possible about each child's language and would be responsible for using that knowledge in teaching the reading and speaking of standard English. Jaggar, in part 4, makes it clear that teachers need to be aware of language differences in order to record accurately children's words when taking dictation for the language experience approach to reading. She suggests that dialect readers may not actually represent any particular child's language, whereas a verbatim record of a particular child's language serves more effectively as a reading medium for that child.

The study of black English, with its implications for teacher training, raises more questions than it answers. As blacks demand greater acceptance of their values and their language, the issue will be argued more intensely. It is evident that teachers should use all the information and resources that are now available to improve the education of all children.

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Relating Reading to Language in Initial Reading Instruction

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It is widely accepted that there is a relationship between oral language and reading, but many approaches and methods for teaching reading do not adequately tap this relationship. Even with the development of many new materials and approaches, large groups of children continue to have difficulty in learning to read. Children whose language differs from those for whom conventional reading materials were developed present a unique challenge. The solutions to the problems associated with teaching them to read lie in a re-examination of the basic relationship between reading and language.

Attitudes, motivation, and developmental level all affect the child's success in learning to read. But the key factor for the educator lies in developing approaches that exploit what is known about the nature of the reading process and the role of the child's language in that process. No complete theory of reading yet explicates the relationship between oral language and learning to read, but there are sufficient theoretical formulations and empirical data to establish some guidelines for teachers in the development of reading programs appropriate for all children.

Language competence is a major factor in learning to read. This premise is supported by numerous studies that show a strong relationship between language development and reading achievement (Strickland, 1962; Loban, 1963; Ruddell, 1966). Research data show that children whose language reflects well-developed sentence structure and vocabulary are the ones who are proficient in reading. The issue that arises is what is meant by language competence and, most particularly, to what extent must a child be competent in language in order to learn to read. Because measures of vocabulary and grammatical complexity have been based on standard-English norms, an illogical jump in reasoning has led many people to assume that black children who use vocabulary and grammatical structures different from the standard-English norms are less competent in language, and that this is the cause of their poorer reading performance. The black child learns the basic vocabulary, sound system, and grammar of his social environs just like any other child. And evidence is mounting that the black-English speaker is also a competent user of language (Goodman, 1972)—but a competent user of a different variety of English. If all normal children, then, are competent users of language, standard English or black English, it is reasonable to assume that by school age, black children's language is adequate for learning to read.

Reading is a language-based process. The reading process has been described by many (Carroll, 1964 and 1970; Ruddell, 1969; Goodman, 1970) as a language-based process. The reader uses his stored knowledge of spoken language to process the phonological, morphological, and syntactic components in the written language into meaningful messages. Certainly in beginning reading, as the child decodes the written language into some form of what Carroll calls "covert speech," he is searching for correspondences between the language he has just deciphered and the language already in his oral speech system. If the child finds correspondence, then comprehension results, as long as the thoughts conveyed are within the conceptual experience of the child. The fact that language, as a system, underlies both speech and writing makes it possible to communicate through printed symbols.

Learning to read will be facilitated by the extent to which the written language corresponds to the child's spoken language. Fries (1962) points out that for the native speaker, the process of learning to read

> . . . is not the learning of a new language code; it is not the learning of a new or different set of language signals. It is not the learning . . . of new grammatical structures. . . . These are all matters of the language signals which he has on the whole already learned so well that he is not conscious of their use. (p. 120)

Reading is rather the application of the child's (unconscious) knowledge of his language code to the deciphering of the graphic symbolization of language. Since reading is in large measure dependent upon the child's knowledge of the underlying structure of his oral language, problems in decoding and comprehending may arise for any child if the language structure of the reading material differs to any great degree from the structure of his native language (Goodman, 1965; Weiner and Cromer, 1967).

The structure of the child's language, then, is an important variable in reading comprehension. Ruddell (1965) and Tatham (1970) have shown, for example, that reading comprehension is higher for materials written in language patterns similar to the child's oral patterns than for materials written in less frequently used oral patterns. Both conclude that reading comprehension is a function of the similarity between oral and written patterns of language.

Especially in beginning reading, it is important to use written material that corresponds closely to the child's oral language. Although the mature reader can adapt to reading materials which are structurally different from his oral language, the problems for the beginning reader are more complex. The first concept that the beginning reader must grasp is that written language is a representation of spoken language and that reading is a matter of recoding the written symbols into the kind of message usually conveyed by the oral form of the language. Although the standard-English speaking child learns to read from materials that vary considerably from his spoken language, in general he finds a reasonably close correspondence in conventional initial reading materials.

To the extent that the black-English speaking child's language differs further from the conventional initial reading materials, he will be at a further disadvantage in the recoding process. The teacher who knows the structures underlying black English and standard English can recognize and capitalize on whatever receptive competence the child demonstrates for standard-English structures and can encourage the child when his oral reading—even in black-English forms—shows that he has grasped meaning by making the correspondence between his own speech forms and the written standard-English forms.

This does not, however, alter the principle that the closer initial reading materials are to the child's oral language the more the task of learning to read will be facilitated for the child.

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PART TWO

EVALUATING CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AT SCHOOL ENTRY

Have children's language abilities been adequately measured in the past? What new procedures for measuring language development are being used? What purposes will assessing language competence serve? Is the black child's language adequate for beginning reading instruction? How does the black child's language compare to the language of textbooks used to teach him to read?

Ways of Evaluating Children's Oral Language

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Evaluation of children's language poses serious methodological difficulties. Researchers have tried to record and measure children's language in a great variety of ways. They have collected samples of spontaneous speech, written down by the investigator or a stenographer at the time of utterance. They have tape recorded speech and transcribed it later. They have used as data extemporaneous language samples elicited in response to more specific stimuli during interviews (Thomas, 1963; Loban, 1963; O'Donnell et al., 1967; Labov et al., 1968; Bougere, 1969), articulation tests (Templin, 1957), and nonsense forms (Berko, 1958). They have devised word-deletion tests (Peisach, 1965) and sentence-repetition tests (Labov et al., 1968; Loban, 1969) and have used standardized vocabulary and intelligence tests (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966; Schwartz et al., 1967; Bougere, 1969; and others). Some studies employed a combination of these techniques. The samples may be biased both in volume and in quality by such variables as the personality of the child, rapport with the examiner, or the interview situation.

Evaluation has usually involved counting the number of words, finding the average length of the sentence, analyzing the syntactic patterns of the language sample, or comparing scores on standardized tests. None of these procedures adequately measures the child's ability to use and comprehend speech. Many of the experimenters themselves have expressed dissatisfaction with the data-gathering techniques.

Early research depended on someone's writing down the child's speech without benefit of tape recordings (McCarthy, 1930; Fisher, 1934; Piaget, 1959; Brown and Bellugi, 1966). The transcriber's speed and accuracy in recording the subject's speech and his ability to transcribe the speech sample with phonetic accuracy, as well as his language bias (the tendency to translate automatically into the patterns of one's own primary dialect), all affect the experimental data and are possible sources of error in the study of children's language. Templin (1957), who worked with articulation tests, suggested that further study was necessary in the development and exploration of techniques used to study language.

Loban (1963) employed a standardized interview in order to elicit extemporaneous language and supplemented his oral language data with data from standardized tests. He felt the technique for the evaluation of the subject's oral language was inadequate. He wrote that counting words alone was a crude measure, because it did not reveal anything about the relationship of ideas. It was Loban's opinion that the traditional grammatical divisions of sentences did not seem to correspond to the actuality of oral language where utterances may be only phrases or single words.

McCarthy (1930) recorded fifty consecutive responses from her subjects exactly as they sounded to the experimenter. There were times, she reported, when the mother of the child had to interpret for the experimenter. She found this technique inadequate:

> In observing children for a definite length of time, very few data were obtained from some quiet, shy subjects, while a tremendous amount was obtained from the talkative ones. It seems that it is better to compare equal samplings of children's language responses in similar circumstances, even though the situation may not be exactly natural. (p. 24)

Fisher (1934) had a stenographer record both the spontaneous and elicited responses of nursery-school children. She noted that the greatest source of error was in the transcription:

> Each culture has developed standardized patterns of speech which have become a part of the social behavior of its people. Whatever may be true of casual conversation, it is hardly to be questioned that the complete and skillful expression which is the highest development of language generally implies completeness of grammatical construction. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider increased control over the sentence one indication of increased control over language. . . . It has . . . the advantage of objectivity. (p. 2)

Fisher reasoned that by the age of six, normal children have acquired all the ordinary speech patterns used by the adults around them, and she chose the sentence as the unit of analysis for the evaluation of a child's language development.

Fisher's work, which dates back to 1934, is supported by Ruddell's work in 1970. He wrote that "the child's ability to comprehend material whether written or spoken would seem to be a function of his ability to see the relationships between key elements of the sentence" (p. 9).

In order to evaluate the linguistic development of disadvantaged black children, it is necessary to have an instrument which will recognize the *meaning* common to dialectal variations within the *same language*. For example, the black-English speaker who says, "He go," and the standard-English speaker who says, "He goes," have no difficulty understanding each other. The child who has been surrounded by black English may be linguistically as mature as any other child, but he is liable to use the syntactic patterns of black English rather than of standard English.

Several researchers have used sentence-repetition tests which allow comparison of the *meaning* carried in syntactic patterns, an unexplored area in research dealing with the language of disadvantaged black children. Tape recording the language sample helps to control errors of transcription such as those found in studies where speech was written down by the experimenter or a stenographer. Lee, at Northwestern University, has developed a sentence-repetition test designed to measure the receptive and expressive use of syntactic forms. She used it to "isolate those children between three and eight years of age who are sufficiently delayed in syntactic development to warrant further study" (1966). The Northwestern Syntax Screening Test, however, utilizes only standard-English sentence patterns.

Menyuk (1969) employed a sentence-repetition test in her study of the perception of language by children. She compared the findings of the sentence-repetition test with samples of extemporaneous language and found a marked correlation. Menyuk wrote that when the utterance exceeded the subject's memory span, there were certain omissions and substitutions. But when modifications occurred, one assumed that the modifications were due to the manner in which the utterance was understood and regenerated by the listener. Menyuk concluded that,

> For the most part, children's reproduction of structures is limited by the rules that have been described to be in their grammar, since they often produce sentences with the structural descriptions found in their productions rather than those in the sentences given. In this sense, structural descriptions of the utterances they produce seem to be an accurate representation of their grammatical competence. (p. 154)

Labov, working with disadvantaged black youngsters in Harlem, New York, also employed a sentence-repetition technique for collection of language samples in addition to tape-recorded samples of extemporaneous speech and of language elicited during interview situations. The sentence-repetition test he employed utilized only standard-English syntactic patterns (Labov et al., 1968), and he noted that his black subjects "translated" from standard-English to black-English syntactic patterns: ". . . it is also true that these boys understand the standard sentence, and translate it with extraordinary speed into the NNE form. . . ." (Labov, 1969).

Baratz and Stewart developed the Education Study Center Dialect Proficiency Test, which presents standard-English and black-English syntactic patterns in parallel sentences (Baratz, 1969a). Baratz's subjects performed in the same manner reported by Menyuk. When confronted with a sentence stimulus outside of their primary syntactic code, they "translated" (Menyuk used the term "corrected") the sentence to their own syntactic code while maintaining the meaning of the sentence (Baratz, 1969b).

Other investigators have also mentioned the automatic "translation" by black-English speaking children. Ruddell noted that when a child read the sentence, "He will go," as, "He go," he was consistently translating the sentence into his own dialect. He stated that this did not represent an error in reading in terms of the child's dialect and that "the child's consistent performance may thus be interpreted that he possesses a high degree of language competence in the same manner as the speaker of standard English" (1970, p. 8). Ecroyd (1968, pp. 624–629) and Wardhaugh (1968, pp. 432–441) also remarked on the translation of standard English into black English by black subjects.

Encouraged by the success of other researchers with sentence-repetition testing, and seeking a method to identify a child's current level of effective operation, the author has developed an instrument to measure the auditory and visual skills of children, skills which are prerequisite to learning to read. Its purpose is to provide a valid evaluative scale for children who, for a variety of reasons, do not perform well on standardized group tests. A pilot study has been completed, and the test is soon to be administered to an extended sample of children (including blacks, whites, and Puerto Ricans) deemed "deficient" in the New York City public school system.

The test is administered by the teacher individually to the child, who is given the opportunity to demonstrate his ability to perform each of several tasks. Items are included in the test which pick up dialect differences in perception and production on both the phonological and the syntactic levels. Samples of test items are given below. (The complete test has more sections and more items per section in many cases.)

I. Auditory perception

A. Minimal pairs (receptive)
(Scored right or wrong on the basis of the subject's response of "same" or "different")

1. Recognition of vowel differences

fed	fed	———	time	Tom	———
pin	pen	———	steer	stare	———
main	men	———	new	new	———
boy	boy	———	tour	tore	———
man	men	———	book	balk	———

2. Comparison of medial consonants

mother	mother	———	tested	tested	———
meshing	messing	———	walked	walked	———
sending	sending	———	nothing	nothing	———
taking	taping	———	waiting	waking	———
telling	telling	———	testing	tessing	———

B. Repetition of auditory stimuli (expressive)
(Scored right or wrong according to the subject's reproduction of the stimulus)

1. Nonsense syllables

wep ———
tepper ———
luppering ———
flufferingly ———
tifferinglier ———

2. Phrases

a glass of milk ———
going home later ———
a yellow school bus ———
the boy with the blue sweater ———
the door with the exit sign ———

II. Syntactic screening for auditory and visual integration

A. Receptive
(Scored 2, 1, or 0 according to whether the subject picks the right picture—out of four—for both sentences, one sentence, or neither sentence)

The toy truck is under the table ———
The toy truck is on the table ———

The girl is standing ______
The girl is not standing ______

The train hits the wagon ______
The wagon hits the train ______

This is a mother bird ______
This is Mother's bird ______

The boy walks ______
The boy walked ______

B. Expressive
(Scored on the basis of the child's reproduction of the right stimulus sentence for a particular picture)

The ball is under the chair ______
The ball is behind the chair ______

The cat chases the dog ______
The dog chases the cat ______

The cat sees the birds ______
The cat sees the bird ______

The man washes the shelf ______
The man washes himself ______

The girl skipped ______
The girl skips ______

Numerical scores are recorded for auditory perception, visual perception, auditory-visual integration, and visual-kinesthetic integration. These scores can be compared to a "normal" range, reliable for age and grade levels, giving the teacher an effective diagnostic tool and helping set priorities in particular areas and strategies for classroom work.

In summary, review of methods of collecting and evaluating language data reveals that most have not been very satisfactory. Since the linguistic unit which carries meaning in natural language is the sentence, it seems reasonable to use the child's control over the syntactic elements of the sentence as the unit to evaluate the child's maturity in language development.

New tests hold great promise for the evaluation of children's language. Several researchers have successfully used sentence-repetition tests. And teachers interested in evaluating the language of disadvantaged black children should consider tests which screen syntactic elements from both black English and standard English.

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The Oral Language of First Graders Compared to the Language of Beginning Reading Texts

Beatrice K. Levy

This paper is addressed to two questions: (1) Have first grade, inner-city black children developed oral language which is adequate for beginning reading instruction? (2) How does the children's language compare, in vocabulary and structure, to the language of instructional materials? These questions were investigated in an effort to resolve some of the problems of widespread reading failures in the population.

The questions were generated by two recurrent themes in recent literature. The first revolves around issues of language deficiencies versus differences. Psychologists and educationists, such as Deutsch (1963) and M. Black (1965), have cited language deficits as significant reasons for reading failures. Engelmann stated this position in its most extreme form as recently as 1970, when he described the typical poor child as having no linguistic concepts and being ignorant of commonplace words. However, linguists (Baratz, 1969; Shuy, 1969; Labov, 1970) have rejected the findings of the "deficit" theorists on the grounds that those investigators worked from misunderstandings of linguistic concepts. The linguists have identified dialect features in black speakers which contrast with characteristic features in standard English and insist that black children's language abilities cannot be measured with instruments that discriminate against responses in black English. The study reported here was developed with the linguists' considerations in mind.

A second theme is found in recent theoretical descriptions of the reading process. Although they differ in details of explication, these theoretical models all describe language processing as a central aspect of reading (Goodman, 1970; Brown, 1970; Smith, 1971). Related experimental research (Ruddell, 1965; Bougere, 1969) demonstrates that children's familiar oral vocabularies and syntax may be related to their reading achievement.

The study described below was designed to provide objective descriptions of at least some of the dimensions of black children's language. A sample of familiar vocabulary and structure was compared to the language of three beginning reading texts.

THE STUDY

Language was analyzed in terms of three parameters: vocabulary, mean length of T-units, and three syntactic structures within T-units. Each feature is described under Language Analysis, below.

Subjects

Twenty monolingual children were randomly selected from the eight first grades in a public school in Brownsville, New York City. Reflecting the neighborhood, all were Negro, all were born in mainland United States, and all were from low socioeconomic status families.

Texts

The texts used for comparison with oral language were: *In the City* (I. Black, 1965), *Now We Read* (Robinson, 1965), and *Ready to Roll* (Robinson, 1967).

Procedure

During the first weeks of the school year, each child was invited to select one or more picture books from a display and to tell the investigator stories suggested by the illustrations. The researcher was just responsive enough to encourage a flow of language from each subject during individual 30-minute taping sessions.

The books used as stimuli were generally similar to the reading texts. Contents included urban and rural residential and school settings, animals, and children and adults from various ethnic groups.

Transcripts of all utterances were typed. All words were spelled in conventional forms. Contractions were typed as two words.

Language Analysis

Vocabulary. To clarify semantic content, each word was assigned to one of six categories according to its function in a syntactic structure: nouns, verbs, auxiliary verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and function words. For example, *bear* was considered as a noun or a verb, depending on its usage. *Webster's Third International Dictionary* was the basic source for classifications, with the following modifications: pronouns were coded as a subclass of nouns (Cattell, 1969); words which delimited a main verb in tense or mode were assigned as auxiliary verbs (Chomsky, 1965); words which qualified or modified verbs or adjectives were classified as adverbs (Cattell, 1969); and words whose function was primarily to signal a following structure (including words the dictionary labels articles, prepositions, and conjunctions) were assigned to the function word category (Gleason, 1965).

T-units. The average length of a T-unit, a minimal grammatical sentence which has one main clause and any subordinate clauses related to it, provided a description of general linguistic complexity. It has been found to be an effective index of language development (Hunt, 1965; O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris, 1967). Longer sentences are characteristic of older children. In the present study, main clauses with zero realization of a copula, as in *This my book,* were accepted as characteristic of the children's language community (Shuy, 1969) and were considered T-units.

In calculating lengths of T-units, when obvious repeats occurred, such as *He . . . he ran down the street,* one subject nominal was omitted. However, in the case of subject reiteration, another feature described as characteristic of black English, both subject nominals were counted.

Syntactic Structures. The three structures (with examples of each) were: Adjective+Noun (John had a *funny face*); Genitive+Noun (*John's face* was sad); and Adverbial Phrase (John's hand was *on the window*). These selected structures were permissible and did occur in other positions in the children's speech. The occurrence of each of the three constructions was tabulated and computed as productions per 100 T-units.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Vocabulary

Table 1 shows the range in the speech of individual children, both in the total number of words produced (631-3956) and in the number of different words (187-717). The numbers suggest and the transcripts demonstrate that none of the children can be described as being ignorant of commonly known words, as reported by Engelmann (1970). Complete lists of the vocabularies are available in Levy (1972).

Table 2 suggests, in a general way, the diversity of concepts with which the children dealt during the recording sessions. As expected, nouns made up the largest group. No child lacked the concept that objects have names, as described by M. Black

Table 1. Vocabulary Tabulation for Speech of Brownsville First Graders

Subject	*Number of Words*	*Number of Different Words*
1	833	274
2	779	187
3	1666	351
4	1586	356
5	2020	436
6	2582	533
7	1226	266
8	1150	320
9	3956	717
10	1612	353
11	1115	269
12	835	209
13	1735	277
14	1501	371
15	1317	382
16	2033	325
17	1081	241
18	2074	405
19	631	218
20	746	235
Total	30,478	6,725*
Mean	1,523.90	336.25

* With common words subtracted, the total number of different words in the corpus as a whole is 1955.

Table 2. Word Function Analysis of Speech of 20 Brownsville First Graders

Category	*Number of Words*	*Number of Different Words*
Nouns	10,327	875
Verbs	5,725	532
Auxiliary Verbs	1,317	28
Adverbs	2,804	137
Adjectives	2,459	296
Function Words	7,846	87

(1965). Auxiliary verbs and function words, which are a very limited set in English, were represented here least frequently. It should be noted that the data reported here can constitute only a sample and not the whole of each child's lexicon.

Table 3 shows that there was a poor correspondence between the words used in the preprimers and in the children's speech. *Now We Read* contained only one noun which appeared among the children's 875 nouns. No auxiliary verbs or adjectives appeared in the book, but 28 different auxiliary verbs and 296 different adjectives occurred in speech. Of the 7 verbs, 2 adverbs, and 3 function words which appeared in the book, all were used by the children.

Of the 18 nouns in *In the City*, only 2 were not produced by the children. Three of the 7 adjectives in the book were not used in speech. In this text, too, there were no auxiliary verbs. All of the verbs, adverbs, or function words in the book occurred in the children's oral language.

Ready to Roll contained a larger number of words than the other books and included words in all syntactic categories. However, the proportion of vocabulary in print which was not used by the children is even larger than in *In the City* (28 percent compared to 13 percent). The ratio still does not approach the discrepancy found in *Now We Read* (41 percent).

The importance of correspondence between words used in beginning reading instructional materials and those familiar to beginning readers is recognized by reading authorities who have long recommended that children should be taught to read a language which is familiar to them. In examining the correspondence that exists between the language of a specific group of children and selected reading materials, the adequacy of the

Table 3. Number of Words Used in Preprimers and Not Used by First Graders

	Nouns	*Verbs*	*Auxiliary Verbs*	*Adverbs*	*Adjectives*	*Function Words*	*Total*	*Percentage of Total*
Number of Different Words in *Now We Read*	10	7	0	2	0	3	22	
Number Not Used by Children	9	0	0	0	0	0	9	41
Number of Different Words in *In the City*	18	4	0	4	7	6	39	
Number Not Used by Children	2	0	0	0	3	0	5	13
Number of Different Words in *Ready to Roll*	168	71	13	32	52	32	368	
Number Not Used by Children	62	9	1	2	19	9	102	28

speech sample is paramount. Previous research has shown that a speaker's total language inventory can be adequately represented by appropriate sampling procedures. Buckingham and Dolch (1936) noted that a group of 300 words in connected discourse would be likely to include 75 percent of our familiar vocabulary and 1000 such words would include 90 percent. In view of the sampling procedures used in this study, the data presented here suggest that the discrepancy between the words used in the books and those used by the children may be crucial in terms of effective reading instruction.

T-units

Table 4 shows the number of T-units produced by each child (45–410), the range of sentence lengths (2–24 words), the variations in average lengths (5.59–8.89), and the mean length (7.03 words). It is also evident that sentences which contained more than six words were characteristic of approximately half of the children's sentences, and there were relatively few which contained fewer than four words. The individual and total mean lengths, then, were not likely to have been a function of many extremely short sentences and an occasional very long one. The data clearly indicate that reports which have described the population as lacking linguistic concepts have been exaggerated.

One way of answering the question about the adequacy of the children's language development is to compare their performance with that of others. Table 5 shows that the Brownsville children's sentence lengths are comparable to those produced by middle-class white children who were studied by O'Donnell and others (1967). Data for their subjects are given for both kindergarten and first grade, since their children's language was sampled late in the school year when the mean T-unit length would reflect increased maturity.

Examination of the transcripts of the New York children showed that the characteristic black-English absence of a copula occurred in 43 percent of those sentences in which the verb would appear in standard English. This might account for some of the shorter sentences of the Brownsville children. However, the subject reiteration appeared in only 3 percent of the T-units and is not likely to have affected the results materially.

Comparing this feature of oral language to the books, the lower part of table 4 also shows a striking contrast between

Table 4. T-unit Length Analysis of the Language of First Graders and Preprimers

		Words per T-Unit		*Percentage of T-Units with More Than*	
Subject	*Number of T-Units*	*Range*	*Mean*	*3 Words*	*6 Words*
1	75	2–16	7.00	93	50
2	46	2–10	5.89	89	41
3	165	2–18	7.96	96	62
4	224	3–17	5.95	95	33
5	272	2–18	6.50	90	40
6	249	3–24	8.89	97	67
7	153	3–14	7.03	96	51
8	141	3–21	6.50	94	43
9	410	3–20	9.52	94	54
10	199	3–17	6.73	95	43
11	127	2–17	6.93	94	55
12	101	2–13	6.20	94	40
13	198	2–15	6.76	92	45
14	190	2–17	6.02	94	32
15	161	2–13	6.08	95	33
16	210	3–19	7.90	94	67
17	128	3–13	6.40	93	39
18	269	3–18	6.72	95	48
19	45	2–11	5.69	82	33
20	85	3–17	6.73	97	51
Total	3449	2–24	7.03	94	48
Now We Read	75	2– 5	2.69	7	0
In The City	28	3–12	5.82	86	32
Ready to Roll	249	2–21	6.19	90	56

Table 5. Comparison of T-unit Lengths in Speech of Children in Brownsville, New York City, and Murfreesboro, Tennessee

	Range (words/T-unit)	*Mean*
Brownsville	5.9– 9.5	7.03
Murfreesboro		
Kindergarten	4.0– 9.5	7.07
First Grade	5.2–10.1	7.97

the lengths of the children's sentences and those in *Now We Read*. That book had a mean T-unit length of 2.69 and no sentences longer than five words. Sentence lengths in *In the City* approached the children's productions a little more closely (3–12 words and an average of 5.82) but were still shorter than the children's, with most of the book's sentences falling between three and six words. *Ready to Roll* contained T-units which resembled the children's more than the other books did, in both range of lengths (2–21 words) and mean number of words (6.19). Sentences more than six words in length were characteristic of a little more than half of this book's T-units. Statistically, the children's average sentences were significantly longer than those in any of the books (Levy, 1972).

Insofar as average lengths of T-units are indicative of linguistic complexity, it is clear that the children's oral language is more complex than the language of the books. This conclusion could be interpreted as a satisfactorily cautious condition in which the beginning reader would find easy material to work with. Actually, however, some shorter sentences may represent greater syntactic complexities, and, in any event, they may represent important differences in construction for children who are in the early stages of learning to translate printed language into oral counterparts.

The data in tables 2 and 3 identify some of the structural features differing between the children's sentences and the books' sentences. The children used many auxiliary verbs, and these never appeared in *Now We Read* or *In the City*. The children also used many adjectives, and these never occurred in *Now We Read*. Both of these syntactic-semantic features would lengthen sentences. They also, of course, represent conceptual ways of perceiving situations and people.

Syntactic Structures

All of the children used the Adjective+Noun, Genitive+Noun, and Adverbial Phrases (Levy, 1972). Table 6 demonstrates that all of the structures occurred more frequently in the pupils' oral language than in *Now We Read*. In fact, that book made no use of two of the constructions. The Genitive+Noun did not appear in *In the City*, but the other structures occurred more often in that text than in the children's speech. In *Ready to Roll* the Adjective+Noun was found more often in the book but the Genitive+Noun and Adverbial Phrase occurred less frequently.

The children's grammatical control of language is indicated by the frequency with which they used the constructions shown in table 6, and the adverbs, adjectives, and function words listed in table 2. All of these features would lengthen sentences and would help to account for some of the discrepancies between the children's mean T-unit lengths and the books' T-unit lengths. The texts which do not include these features do not present beginning readers with familiar language.

Table 6. Syntactic Structures per 100 T-units in Language of First Graders and Preprimers

	Adjective + Noun	*Genitive + Noun*	*Adverbial Phrase*	*Total*
Children's speech	19.25	15.05	37.41	71.71
Now We Read	0.00	0.00	18.00	18.00
In the City	46.43	0.00	78.57	125.00
Ready to Roll	27.27	6.32	18.18	51.78

CONCLUSIONS

The answer to our first question, then, is that the population represented by these subjects does have knowledge of language which is adequate for reading instruction. Further, the literature which suggests that deficiency in linguistic competence is the primary cause for failures in reading achievement must be seriously questioned.

As for the second question, the study indicated that the beginning reading texts do not present language which corresponds closely to the children's. The preprimers did not, generally, use the words which seemed most familiar to the children. The sentences in the books lacked some of the children's syntactic structures and were shorter and different from the children's usual utterances. On the basis of knowledge currently available, impediments to learning to read may be present.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Current reading and language programs which are based on the assumption that disadvantaged children have no language knowledge should be evaluated for the possibility that they are wasting instructional time which could be used for development of new skills. Some programs may be demonstrating spurious effectiveness in teaching skills the children, in fact, already have.

Classroom language arts programs should facilitate free expression by children so that teachers have an opportunity to become familiar with their individual pupils' language abilities. If teachers then draw on their students' own speech to construct initial reading materials, they can provide a continuity of learning from oral language to literacy.

The words and sentence structures produced by subjects in this study can be used as a basis for constructing both classroom-developed and commercially published beginning reading materials. The data provide an objective collection of language items which are familiar to a representative sample of the selected population.

At the present time we can only hypothesize that the discrepancies between the language produced by the children and the language of the texts are a cause for reading difficulties. Additional research should be done to clarify this issue.

Studies should also compare the language of this population with that of the same ethnic group in other socioeconomic levels and with that of other ethnic groups in various socioeconomic levels. If there are differences, then the findings could be used to devise more specific and diverse materials for initial reading instruction.

The poor correspondence which the present study found between instructional materials and children's language raises questions about the validity of both language and reading achievement tests. The tests should be examined for the possibility that variations in familiar language may interfere with the intended measurement of skills.

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PART THREE

STRATEGIES FOR TEACHING ORAL STANDARD ENGLISH AS A SECOND DIALECT

What techniques are available to the classroom teacher for increasing the language abilities of students? Are the same types of programs appropriate for primary, intermediate, and junior high school students? Should teachers allow students to use language which is not standard English in the classroom? What kinds of practical advice can researchers give to classroom teachers who want to enrich their language programs? What ideas for language expansion have been used successfully?

Oral Language Expansion in the Primary Grades

Bernice E. Cullinan, Angela M. Jaggar,
and Dorothy S. Strickland

RATIONALE

It is generally accepted that most children have a well-developed language system by the time they enter school (Carroll, 1961). Increasingly, it is recognized—and these authors take the position—that this is just as true of black ghetto children as it is of middle-class white children, even if their language systems are demonstrably different. What, then, is the role of the school in teaching children the communication skills?

First, as in every culture, education must aim to increase the child's ability to communicate ideas. Secondly, society expects schooling to provide the linguistic tools needed to move freely in the general setting in which the child is maturing. In the United States, this implies a control of standard English and as great fluency as possible in reading.

The first goal can be approached without serious conflict between subcultures by unconditionally accepting in the classroom the way of talking the child brings to school and by focusing efforts on increasing all kinds of communication in both variety and quantity. This means getting more verbal interaction among children and between children and adults in all areas of concern.

There is considerably more controversy about the way to approach the second goal. Many programs purporting to be based on a "difference" model—as contrasted with a "deficit" model—still convey to the child the message that his language is inferior, which leads to alienation from the school.

Rigorous screening, to assure that reading materials draw on the child's experiences and serve his interests, helps to maintain the needed relevance of school work. Some relief from alienation is accomplished through a supportive environment in which variations from standard English are not criticized negatively by the teacher when communication of content is effective. In oral reading, too, when meaning is maintained, legitimate dialect differences should not be reason for the teacher to interrupt. Judgment in these matters requires a knowledge of the linguistic structures of standard English and black English, especially of the differences between them, that is seldom a part of the training of elementary school teachers.

In an effort to find more positive ways to expand children's language to include standard English while maintaining proficiency in black English, a group at New York University developed a program for oral language expansion which was tried out in New York area schools (Cullinan, Jaggar, and Strickland, 1974).

THE EXPERIMENT

The oral language expansion program was used daily for a full academic year with children in kindergarten through the third grade in four predominantly black public schools. Complete test data were obtained for 125 control and 124 experimental subjects. Fifteen subjects were randomly selected from each classroom to represent a total population of more than 500 children. Experimental and control programs were isolated by school to avoid imitation of the experimental treatment and, thus, contamination of results. Full details of the program, testing, teacher training, and statistical analysis of results are available from Strickland (1971) and Cullinan, Jaggar, and Strickland (1974).

The experiment was designed to expand experience, control over language structure, the range of language structures used, and conceptual ability, through a literature-based oral language program. Teachers were given training in the linguistic contrasts between standard English and black English and were encouraged to help children perceive the differences between the two dialects.

Each day the classroom teachers selected the particular story or poem to read aloud from a library of fifty books provided for each classroom. Immediately following the reading the children actively participated in creative use of language and specific practice of the standard-English patterns different from black-English patterns through structured activities based on the literature selection. The reading and oral language activity lasted approximately thirty minutes.

To minimize the Hawthorne effect, control groups were exposed to a literature-based program stressing creative art and music activities. The control classrooms had the same fifty-book library, and each class was read to daily from the selected literature. Their program included enrichment and concept development but did not include oral participation by the children. The major distinction between experimental and control treatments was the active oral language participation of the experimental children. Teachers in both groups were observed twice a month by project personnel.

RESULTS

Comparison of pretests and posttests showed that both experimental and control treatments were effective in increasing children's facility in standard English. In fact, comparison of pretest scores for kindergarten through grade three showed that simply progress through school—these schools at least—increased children's ability to reproduce standard-English structures without any significant decrease of their facility in black English. At each grade level, the experimental groups made larger gains in standard English than the control groups, but analysis of covariance showed that the differences in gains were not significant except for the kindergarten children. At this youngest level, the oral language program proved substantially more effective than the control treatment in increasing children's performance in standard English.

This study suggests that the greatest benefit from this type of language expansion program can be achieved in working with children of kindergarten age and possibly even younger, while their language is developing rapidly. The literature selections are suitable for reading aloud to children in nursery schools and day-care centers, and the oral language activities can also be appropriately adapted for use with these ages.

MATERIALS FOR THE TEACHER

The following materials are provided for teachers of young children who might wish to implement a literature-based oral language program of their own. The first is a listing of criteria for selecting literature for children and a listing of the books found to be effective at the kindergarten and first-grade levels in the reported project. Teachers are encouraged to broaden the list, however, to include other literature that meet the criteria set forth.

The criteria and booklist are followed by basic plans which outline procedures for six language activities that may be adapted for use with literature selections. Three of the plans (informal dramatization and puppetry, storytelling, and discussion) provide for more creative and spontaneous use of language, while three plans (role playing, Peter Parrot, and choral speaking) give children opportunities to practice specific language forms and patterns.

Lastly, sample plans for specific books are given to illustrate how each of the six language activities could be adapted for each literature selection.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF BOOKS TO BE USED IN A LITERATURE-BASED ORAL LANGUAGE PROGRAM

Literature selected for use with young children should meet the following criteria:

1. It should possess acknowledged literary merit; sources for selection include recognized booklists, such as *Adventuring with Books* (National Council of Teachers of English), *Children's Catalog* (American Library Association), *The Horn Book, Best Books for Children,* and *Booklist.*
2. It should represent ethnic groups favorably.
3. It should include characters with whom children can identify.
4. It should be within the conceptual capacity of the children.
5. It should include a variety of language patterns and diverse vocabulary.
6. It should serve as a stimulus for interesting related oral language activities.

KINDERGARTEN–FIRST GRADE BOOKLIST

The following books are available in paperback from Scholastic Magazines, Inc.:

Amelia Bedelia, Peggy Parish
Andy and the Lion, James Daugherty
Caps for Sale, Esphyr Slobodkina
Carrot Seed, Ruth Krauss
Chicken Soup with Rice, Maurice Sendak
Crictor, Tomi Ungerer
Curious George, *Curious George Gets a Medal*, and *Curious George Goes to the Hospital*, H. A. Rey
Emperor's New Clothes, Hans Christian Andersen
Favorite Rhymes: Rocket in My Pocket, Carl Withers (Compiler)
Five Chinese Brothers, Claire Huchet Bishop
Flip, Wesley Dennis
Fortunately, Remy Charlip
The Gingerbread Man, Ed Arno (illustrator)
The Happy Lion, Louise Fatio
Harold and the Purple Crayon and *A Picture for Harold's Room*, Crockett Johnson
How Big Is Big? Herman and Nina Schneider
"I Can't," Said the Ant, Polly Cameron
In the Forest and *Just Me*, Marie Hall Ets
Let's Be Enemies and *What Mary Jo Shared*, Janice May Udry
Madeline and *Madeline's Rescue*, Ludwig Bemelmans
The Man Who Didn't Wash His Dishes, Phyllis Krasilovsky
Mr. Rabbit and the Lovely Present, Charlotte Zolotow
Noodle, Munroe Leaf
Nothing Ever Happens on My Block, Ellen Raskin
One Wide River to Cross, Barbara and Ed Emberley
Sad Day, Glad Day, Vivian L. Thompson
The Secret Place and Other Poems, Dorothy Aldis
Six Foolish Fishermen, Benjamin Elkin
The Snowy Day, Ezra Jack Keats
Stone Soup, Ann McGovern
The Story about Ping, Marjorie Flack
The Three Billy Goats Gruff, Susan Blair
What Do You Say Dear? Sesyle Joslin
Where Does the Butterfly Go When It Rains? May Garelick

The following books are available in paperback from Viking Press:

Blueberries for Sal and *Make Way for Ducklings*, Robert McCloskey
Gilberto and the Wind and *Play with Me*, Marie Hall Ets
Norman the Doorman, Don Freeman
Whistle for Willie, Ezra Jack Keats

BASIC LESSON PLANS FOR ORAL LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES

Informal Dramatization and Puppetry

I. Introduce the story
  A. Link the story, whenever possible, with some experience the children have had.
  B. Stir the students' curiosity by asking provocative questions pertaining to the story.

II. Present the story
  A. Maintain the sense of wonder aroused in the students by presenting the story in an enthusiastic manner.

III. Talk it over
  A. Elicit suggestions from the students as to what scenes or parts of the story would be fun to act out. These may be discussed briefly and/or recorded on the chalkboard.
  B. Briefly discuss the characters in the story and the nature of their personalities (or animalities). Questions such as the following will help: 1. What kind of a person was he (she)? 2. What made him behave as he did? Emphasize the fact that part of the fun of acting is to see how different people play the same character.
  C. Two or three small groups of children may be selected to prepare a scene. The following instructions should be given.
    1. Decide upon the scene or scenes they wish to play. Point out that it does not matter if two groups choose the same part of the story to dramatize, as each will do it in a very special way.
    2. Decide who will play which characters. Give children the freedom to add characters such as neighbors, other members of a family, and so on, if it will add to their dramatization.
    3. Plan the action and walk through the scene in pantomime. Suggest that once the mood and movement have been established, producing the language of the characters requires little effort.
    4. Rehearse once again, adding the words.
    5. Play the scene for the entire group.

  (It is important to note that while the preparation may initially seem lengthy, the time needed will quickly diminish as the children gain facility. All the steps, from the discussion through the point where the acting for an audience begins, should take no more than ten to fifteen minutes. In all cases the action should begin as soon as possible after the completion of the reading, lest the dramatic impact of the story be lost.)

IV. Variations
  A. For very young or immature groups or for first experiences with dramatization, choose one group at a time (in some instances this may be the entire class) and go through the entire procedure with them.
  B. Select one scene and have various groups prepare it simultaneously. When the acting has been completed, have the entire group compare the varied interpretations of scenes and characters.
  C. The story may be performed impromptu, that is, it is acted with little or no analysis. Every phase of the dramatization—dialogue, action, properties—is spontaneously thought up.

Storytelling by Children

I. Introduce the story

II. Present the story

III. Talk it over

- A. Children may wish to discuss parts of the story they liked best; what made it exciting, funny, sad, and so on.
- B. Discuss the main character or characters; ask how they get into trouble, act heroic, and so on, when found in a predicament.
- C. Emphasize the fact that stories are thought up by someone before they are ever written down. Books are really someone's ideas written down and probably everyone can think up a story that would be fun for others to hear.
- D. Suggest that since they found the character or characters in the story so exciting, perhaps it would be fun to experiment with these characters in new situations to see what interesting stories might develop.
- E. Offer a set of circumstances and select various students to tell stories placing the character from the book in the new situation, or ask children to make up their own predicaments for the character. The following list of characters and situations are suitable for this purpose:
  1. Harry *(Harry the Dirty Dog)* discovers he's drifting out to sea in a sailboat.
  2. George *(Curious George)* finds himself locked overnight in a supermarket.
  3. Walter *(Walter the Lazy Mouse)* spends a day as a cowboy in Texas.
  4. Happy Lion *(Happy Lion)* goes into the hospital for a tonsillectomy.
  5. Peter Rabbit *(Peter Rabbit)* finds himself on the top seat of a stuck ferris wheel.
  6. Petunia *(Petunia)* gets a job as a salesman in a toy shop.
  7. Madeline *(Madeline)* works as a substitute teacher.
  8. Peter *(Snowy Day)* rides fifty miles on a bus before realizing he's going the wrong way and he has left his money at home.
- F. Variations
  1. Teacher may wish to actually begin the story, placing the character in the situation, then call upon individuals to continue it.
  2. Round Robin Storytelling—Teacher may begin the story and have children complete it by allowing each child to add a few sentences in turn.

Discussion of the Book

I. Introduce the story

II. Present the story

III. Talk it over

- A. Whenever possible let the discussion evolve from the natural interest and curiosity of the children.
- B. Specific questions may be introduced by the teacher in order to stimulate thinking.

C. Discussion may be used as a diagnostic tool. Language patterns which need attention may be noted. Specific problems of individuals may also be recorded.

D. Discussion may be used as an evaluative tool. Progress in general language facility in the specific skills being fostered may be noted.

E. Skills to be fostered.
  1. Clear expression of ideas.
  2. Appreciation of the ideas of others.
  3. Avoidance of repeating what has been said.
  4. Courtesy in agreeing and disagreeing.
  5. Contributing ideas and questions which add to and stimulate the discussion.

F. When particularly apt or accurate language is used, it can be reinforced by the teacher's reiteration of the same word, phrase, or sentence in response.

G. The teacher should maintain a relaxed, informal atmosphere. Each child must be made to feel that his contribution is acceptable.

H. Gallagher and Aschner have developed a system, which is presented in Amidon and Hunter (1966, pp. 26–28), containing four categories of questions. Knowledge of these will prove helpful to the teacher.
  1. Cognitive Memory Questions. These questions call for facts or other items which can be recalled. These questions are narrow and involve rote memory. (For example: What is the largest city in New York State?)
  2. Convergent Questions. These questions call for the analysis and integration of given or remembered data. (For example: What is there about the position of New York that accounts for its importance?)
  3. Divergent Questions. These questions call for answers which are creative and imaginative and which move into new directions. (For example: How might the lives of the people in New York City be different if the city were located in the torrid zone?)
  4. Evaluative Questions. These questions deal with matters of judgment, value, and choice. (For example: Would you like to live in New York City? Why?)

Role Playing (variation with emphasis on practice with specific language patterns)

I. Introduce the story or poem

II. Present the story or poem

III. Talk it over

A. Ask the children to tell which parts of the story were the most exciting for them. Discuss the factors that made it exciting. "Was it what someone did? Was is what someone said?"

B. Select a particular incident in the story and ask for ideas as to how a particular character must have felt in that situation. Individual children may be called upon to role play that incident using appropriate language.

C. Suggest that the incident would have been very different if the character had felt differently. Discuss how he might have uttered the language in the story had he been angry, sad, happy, proud, flippant, frightened, tired, excited, and so on.

D. Select individuals to role play the incident, changing the mood of the character each time.

IV. Practice with specific language patterns

A. Choose a line of dialogue from the story (or make up one that is appropriate to a particular incident in the story) that is exemplary of a particular language pattern which needs practice.

B. Follow the same procedures as in B, C, and D above, providing continued repetition of the pattern in a manner which is both interesting and purposeful to the children. The following are examples:

1. *Pelle's New Suit* by Elsa Beskow
   Scene—Pelle asks the painter for some paint with which to color his yarn. Line—"What a silly little boy you are!" Practice—Subject-verb agreement (you is)
2. *The Poppy Seed Cakes* by Margery Quigley and Mary E. Clark
   Scene—Andrewshek argues with the goose about the ownership of the goose feathers in the feather bed. Line—"They are not yours. . . . My Auntie Katushka brought them with her from the old country in a huge bag." Practice—Subject-verb agreement (they is); use of *ain't*, double negatives (They ain't none of yours. They not none of yours); redundant subject (my Auntie Katushka she)

Peter Parrot (Practice of specific language patterns)

I. Introduce the story

II. Present the story

III. Talk it over

IV. Teacher presents parrot puppet. The puppet (teacher) explains that he usually repeats things after people, however, this time he would like to turn things around and have people repeat things after him. Being a fussy parrot, Peter insists that children repeat everything exactly the way he says it. He asks the children to repeat sentences from the story or based on the story. (See suggested plans for specific literature for sentences to be used.) Class may repeat in unison; individuals should take turns also.

V. This may serve as a periodic evaluative device for the teacher.

Choral Speaking

I. Introduce the poem or story

A. Stimulate interest and develop background through appropriate questioning and discussion. Avoid prolonged introductions.

II. Present the poem or story

A. Read with enthusiasm.

B. Do not be overly dramatic, but bring out the variety in the poem or story by following carefully its rhythms and changes of mood.

C. Speak clearly and distinctly, as the children will imitate your rendition.

III. Talk it over
  A. Encourage voluntary discussion. Clarify images when necessary and answer questions, but do not over-analyze.
  B. Alternate discussion with re-reading of the poem or parts of the story several times. Encourage children to follow along with fingertip tapping or light handclapping on the third or fourth reading.

IV. Engage in choral speech
  A. After the rhythm has been established, the children may be divided into groups.
  B. Encourage them to speak their words clearly and distinctly.
  C. Suitable actions may help the children to interpret the mood of the story or poem and to remember the words.

SAMPLE PLANS FOR SPECIFIC BOOKS

Title *Amelia Bedelia* **Author** *Parish, Peggy*

Brief synopsis of book

Hilarious happenings result when Amelia Bedelia, a very unusual maid, follows instructions very literally.

Suggested language activities

Plan A—Discussion (suggested questions): Why do you think "Amelia Bedelia" was such a funny story? Do you think the pictures helped? How? Think of words in the story that meant more than one thing. (Draw, dust, trim.) Can you think of other words like this?

Plan B—Dramatization and Puppetry (suggested scenes): Amelia Bedelia arrives for work. Any scene where Amelia does a task. The Rogers return.

Plan C—Storytelling (variations, if any): Children may make up other funny incidents involving Amelia Bedelia.

Plan D—Role Playing (suggested scenes and specific language patterns): Teacher can read instructions from the book. Children act out what Amelia Bedelia said and did.

Plan E—Peter Parrot (specific language patterns):
  Amelia Bedelia works all day.
  She works all day and has no time to play.
  Amelia Bedelia works all night.
  She works all night, but she doesn't do it right. (negation)

Plan F—Choral Speaking (suggested selections):
  Amelia Bedelia changed those towels.
  Amelia Bedelia dressed the chicken.
  Amelia Bedelia dusted the furniture.
  But, oh, what a mess she made. (past tense)

Title *The Snowy Day* **Author** *Keats, Ezra Jack*

Brief synopsis of book

Beautifully written and illustrated story of a small Negro boy's adventures in the snow.

Suggested language activities

Plan A—Discussion (suggested questions): What kinds of things do you enjoy doing in the snow? Do you think it was very smart of Peter to try and save a snowball in his pocket? Why or why not?

Plan B—Dramatization and Puppetry (suggested scenes): Teacher may re-read story as children pantomime the actions.

Plan C—Storytelling (variations, if any): Children may tell about their own adventures in the snow.

Plan D—Role Playing (suggested scenes and specific language patterns): Children may pantomime or add words to Peter's actions in the snow.

Plan E—Peter Parrot (specific language patterns):

He walked with his toes pointing out like this.
He walked with his toes pointing in like that.
Then he dragged his feet slowly to make tracks. (past tense marker)

Plan F—Choral Speaking (suggested selections): See Choral Speaking Supplement. Use the poem "Warm Clothes" or develop a group composed verse, such as,

It snowed and snowed and snowed and snowed
And Peter went out to play.
He made a snowball he wanted to save
But the snowball melted away. (past tense marker)

Title *The Carrot Seed* **Author** *Krauss, Ruth*

Brief synopsis of book

A small boy is determined to plant a carrot seed even though everyone discourages him. His faith is rewarded, to the surprise of all.

Suggested language activities

Plan A—Discussion (suggested questions): Why do you suppose the boy's family discourages him? What have you ever planted? What care do seeds need in order to grow?

Plan B—Dramatization and Puppetry (suggested scenes): Various people telling the boy that the seed won't grow. Caring for his seed. The day it finally comes up.

Plan C—Storytelling (variations, if any): Tell other stories entitled "They Said I Couldn't Do It, But I Did."

Plan D—Role Playing (suggested scenes and specific language patterns): Pretend you are a neighbor, a friend, a gardener, and so on. Tell why you think the seed won't come. Pretend you're talking to the boy.

Plan E—Peter Parrot (specific language patterns):

The little boy planted the carrot seed.
He pulled the weeds.
He sprinkled the ground. (past tense marker)

Plan F—Choral Speaking (suggested selections):

The little boy planted the seed
But it didn't come up.
Every day he watered the seed

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Strategies for Language Expansion in the Middle Grades

Arlene Mantell

INTRODUCTION

Given the assumption that children come to school having already learned most of the basic rules which govern their language system, what is the school's role vis a vis language learning, particularly as this relates to the speaker of black English in the middle elementary grades?

Two answers to this question are suggested. The first, that awareness of language can be heightened and flexibility and control increased. The second, that speakers of black English can learn to make conscious choices between the rules of black English and standard English.

A number of instructional techniques, for example, contrastive analysis and pattern practice, aim for these goals. Contrastive analysis stresses the significant points of difference between dialects (the points at which one dialect is likely to interfere with the other). Pattern practice focuses on repetition of the language patterns of standard English. Both approaches tend to stress drill; both systematically present the child with various learning tasks; and both assume that adoption of rules begins with the oral language of the child, that rules will be learned as they are practiced, and that effective learning occurs through the use of models.

The curriculum materials presented in this paper also incorporate the assumptions underlying contrastive analysis and pattern practice. But the diagnostic and applicative strategies discussed here differ in the following ways:

1. They not only focus on the child's oral language but build directly from it.

2. It is assumed that the teacher who knows the rules of standard English and black English can effectively identify the grammatical characteristics of a child's language system and set priorities as to which characteristics deserve the school's attention.
3. The materials have been developed on the further assumption that learning will be more effective if children take an active part in investigating the differences between dialects and in choosing the appropriate language rules.

To test the effects of materials based on the learners' language, 97 children in four fifth-grade classes in the New York metropolitan area were involved in a fourteen-week study (Mantell, 1971). Two groups were exposed to the materials and strategies, while two groups continued with their regular language arts instruction. All groups were pretested and posttested using the Education Study Center Bidialectal Task, a sentence-repetition test developed by Baratz and Stewart (Baratz, 1969a), and all groups were posttested with the Test of Language Judgment (Mantell, 1971).

What were the results? In the main, it was found that while the material did not increase the store of language rules available, the participating fifth graders did learn to use the rules they already possessed more appropriately. Their awareness of language as it operates within a situational context increased, and their level of proficiency in black English and standard English was maintained.

The Diagnostic and Applicative Strategies

The aim of the diagnostic and applicative strategies is to treat language as an integral part of the learner's interests, concerns, and values. Through the diagnostic strategy, having the learner respond to open-ended questions, information about the learner's goals and his perceptions of school, peers, and community is gathered. In the applicative strategy, this information becomes the raw material for the role-playing sequences and improvisational sketches. The teacher thus has a medium for increasing language proficiency and helping students to clarify their own values and concerns.

Stress is placed on investigating language, on forming generalizations about linguistic usage on the basis of actual samples of the speech of different persons in various situations, and on choosing and using the appropriate dialect in role-playing sequences. The use of drama as the vehicle for language practice gives the learner the opportunity for feedback on his performance from his peers, as well as allowing the teacher to monitor the learner's progress.

The materials used with the diagnostic and applicative strategies are presented separately here. But it should be noted that in practice there will be continuous interplay of strategies. The teacher accumulates a core of information about a child's language and concerns from the photographs, context sentences, and other materials presented here and then follows up with role-playing exercises where differences in language usage and context can be examined.

The Diagnostic Strategy

The purpose of the diagnostic strategy is to elicit language in order to identify the most frequently used grammatical features of black English and to focus specifically on those features which most sharply separate social groups from one another (Wolfram, 1970). In considering the implications of sociolinguistic findings for education, Wolfram (1970) developed a "matrix of cruciality," plotting black-English features against five criteria: sharpness of social stratification, generality of application of the rule, whether the rule is grammatical or phonological, whether the significance is general or regional, and frequency of occurrence of the feature. He concluded that seven syntactic features of black English are the most important for students to control, and he ranked them as follows: (1) *-s* third person singular (e.g., *he go*); (2) multiple negation (e.g., *didn't do nothing*); (3) *-s* possessive (e.g., *man hat*); (4) invariant *be* (e.g., *he be home*); (5) copula absence (e.g., *he nice*); (6) *been* auxiliary in active sentence (e.g., *he been ate the food*); and (7) existential *it* (e.g., *it is a whole lot of people*).

A description of suggested materials and procedures for the diagnostic strategy follows:

Photographs. Photographs of adults, youngsters, scenes, places, and routines familiar to children are shown. Figure 1 is an example. The teacher raises open-ended questions which range from calling for descriptive statements to speculation about the scene or the character, his feelings, thoughts, goals, the language he might use, and so on. Here are some sample questions: What is the character in the photograph doing? How does he look? How do you think he feels? Why? What is he thinking? How would he talk about his thoughts to his mother, father, friends, teachers? What would he do if his sister told him she

Figure 1. Photograph to stimulate discussion. Photograph courtesy of Robert Wharton.

didn't want him to go to the movies with her? What would he say? In this last situation, the character is placed in a new and imaginary context; teacher and children develop and create the character's language and behavior together.

Student responses provide teachers with students' perceptions, language samples, and cues to the children's interests (the last helps teachers select appropriate reading materials). These responses also provide the base for other activities, such as the following:

1. Role-playing exercises where students enact characters shown in photographs. As an example, suppose one of the photographs consists of a street scene, an outdoor fruit stand. If the students indicate some of the attitudes of local store owners in the initial discussion of the photograph, it may be appropriate to devise a scene to act them out—perhaps a child buying fruit at lunchtime.
2. Writing exercises which can be written from various points of view, such as that of the character or that of an observer. Initial discussion may focus on children shown in a photograph. What are they doing, feeling, enjoying? Then, as a writing exercise, the teacher can have each child pretend he

is an onlooker of the same age, watching from his window. How would he describe the children? What would he feel? What might he do? The teacher can expand upon this and similar situations by choosing related reading materials which focus on peer relationships.

Because of the open-ended nature of these materials, many concerns, interests, and individual anecdotes come to the surface. These may revolve around adult authority and how it may be abused, especially by teachers and parents, or fearful situations, for example, how it feels to be home alone with strange sounds stirring at the door. If the response is wide enough, interests and concerns can be explored further through selections culled from a variety of children's literature.

The Faceless X. Faceless X is shown on a large transparent sheet. Students see only the outline of a face, the eyes, and the nose, as shown in figure 2.

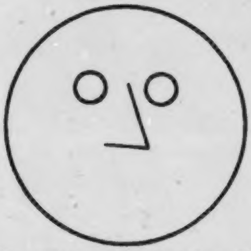


Figure 2. The Faceless X

They are asked to fill in expressions for the face, sketching in eyebrows and mouth, hairstyle (indicative of sex), race, and headdresses from a variety provided, for example, Indian headbands, police hats, military hats, Black Panther berets, and Afros. The teacher again raises open-ended questions, such as the following: How would you describe the expression he/she now has? Why do you think he/she feels this way? How do you think he/she would act in a situation in which ———(insert example)? Why? What language do you think he would use in this situation? How do you think he/she would feel about ———(insert another character or societal role)? Why?

Student responses will provide a substantial sample of language and perceptions in the form of descriptions of the character, his role in society, the state of his feelings, and his reactions to others. These can be expanded by asking students to speculate on the causes of these reactions.

Faceless X can be used with an entire class, small groups, or individuals.

Role playing. The purpose of role playing is to ascertain the extent to which the children can alter their language according to the situation with which they are confronted. If children are already bidialectal, their language will change in accordance with the context. If they are not, language usage will not vary greatly from one situation to another.

The teacher, therefore, presents various situations for dramatization which call for the use of black English and standard English. These are drawn from responses to the photographs and to Faceless X, or they may be suggested by the students. The situation is described as fully as possible so that the student has a clear idea of the language usage expected. Generally these situations involve no more than two persons. The following are some examples of role-playing situations which may be used:

1. Conversation between student and teacher. He has been doing exceptionally good work and is speaking of his future plans. He requests a recommendation.
2. Parent argument with a teacher. Develop an incident and, if it sparks enough enthusiasm, pose various consequences that may also be dramatized.
3. Student confrontation with another student. One takes the role of a bully asking to borrow a dime from a slightly smaller, younger child.

The first time role playing is done, students are asked to watch and listen carefully. After that, they are asked to note specific phrases and language usages, The teacher may raise questions about the role-playing scenes. Terms such as "formal," "informal," or "casual" may be introduced. Sample questions which might be asked follow:

1. What kind of language did the situation call for?
2. What kind of language did the character use? As an example, suppose a formal situation has been enacted: A child is talking to the school librarian. During the scene, the child says, "I ain't gonna take this book." Or suppose he says, "If this book is no fun to read, I don't want to take it out." Whatever is said is noted and later discussed.
3. How effective was the speaker in his use of language? Did he accomplish his goals? Was the actor convincing? Was he understood by the other speaker? If not, why not? If so, how do you know?

4. What changes in the use of language would you suggest? A replay of the scene might try out these recommendations.

Although this technique is suggested as a diagnostic exercise, it is equally useful for purposes of progressive feedback and evaluation. As the student's awareness of language increases, he incorporates new usage in his language system.

Context sentences. A context sentence explores how the learner uses language. Students are given a context to which they are asked to respond with one sentence. For example:

> Carol wants to join her friends on the corner. Her mother wants her to stay home and babysit. As Carol goes out the door, her mother looks at her and says: ____________

As with the other materials, the teacher is looking for the grammatical rules the children use in a given situation. Are the children using primarily black English or standard English? Are there certain rules of black English or standard English which are used with greater frequency than others? Which language system is chosen for a particular situation? The situation described above, for instance, is essentially informal, and black English is certainly appropriate. Is it used, or do the children generally select rules of standard English? Do certain rules predominate within either system? The context situations are presented orally, but the teacher may wish to have all the students respond in writing so the variation in patterns of response can be noted and discussed.

Tapes of speech. Short monologues, statements, simple dialogues, poems, and selections from children's literature can be tape-recorded by a black-English speaker or a standard-English speaker. In many instances, the same selection will be recorded in both black English and standard English. Children repeat what they have heard, capturing to the greatest extent possible the character, his tone, stress patterns, and words. These responses are taped and then compared with the original tapes. Is the student using the appropriate structures? Are there changes, conversions to another rule system, omissions?

Tapes can be used with individuals, in small groups, or for an entire class. The discussion following each tape recording should emphasize the content as well as the style of the selections.

Recording and analyzing grammatical features. The basic thrust of the diagnostic strategy is to discover the structures most frequently and consistently used by the children. This cannot be achieved, however, unless the teacher knows, and is able to listen for, the features of both black English and standard English. Some method of recording children's speech is necessary if teachers are to determine which grammatical elements deserve priority in the applicative strategy. In practical terms, it is not possible for the teacher to guide discussions and simultaneously note each student response. A tape recording of language resulting from the techniques described above, however, provides a record which can be transcribed and analyzed in detail. Frequency of occurrences of black-English and standard-English forms listed as distinctive by Baratz (1969b, pp. 99, 100), Wolfram (1970, p. 117), or Fryburg in part 6 of this text can then be tabulated for each student and for the class as a whole. Evaluation of students' needs, as shown in the tabulations, can be compared with the ranking of cruciality to pinpoint priorities to be established in the classroom.

The Applicative Strategy

The purpose of the applicative strategy is to teach the child to distinguish between samples of black English and standard English; to become aware of the syntactic differences and similarities between his speech and the speech of his friends, family, teachers, and television characters; to test out the appropriateness of black English and standard English in various contexts; and to expand language facility by practicing standard English in role-playing and game situations.

Building awareness of grammar differences. The materials described below are designed to bring about an awareness of the rule-governed nature of language and of how the rules differ for different varieties of speech. Many of the materials can be drawn from activities described under the diagnostic strategy. For example, tape recordings of student responses to the photographs used to elicit speech or recordings of the role-playing sessions and the ensuing discussions can provide the materials for applicative strategies. These language samples can be compared with language in books or recorded from radio and television. Children should be given the chance to see if they can generalize rules from the differences they observe.

Caution: Be careful to start simply. Single sentences which differ in only one feature should be used at first, leading gradually to sentences with more than one feature different.

1. *Discover the difference game.* The class listens to recorded samples of black-English and standard-English speech. Stu-

dents are given mimeographed copies of these samples and are asked to isolate the specific differences between the samples.

> When I walk down the street, people say, "Here come Duke. He cool. He got heart." (From Warren Miller's *The Cool World*)
>
> Standard-English paraphrase: When I walk down the street, people say, "Here comes Duke. He is cool. He has heart."

The teacher asks students to cite the differences between the two selections. First is the presence or absence of final *s* on "comes" (standard-English third person singular agreement in present tense of verbs). Next is the presence or absence of "is" (linking verb). Third is the choice of "got" or "have" (lexical choice). The teacher should be explicit in pointing out that standard English requires the final *s* on third person present of verbs, and she may occasionally want students to fill out verb paradigms to be sure they have understood the standard-English system:

I come	we come
you come	you come
he comes, she comes	they come

Similarly, the requirement of a verb form in statements in standard English is contrasted with the black-English option of omitting a linking verb. The students can be encouraged to determine what it is that governs the choice of "got" or "has"—both of which are clearly understood here—style level, formality, intimacy of speaker and hearer, and so on.

2. *Most people say.* Students are asked to collect language samples showing how they, their family, friends, teacher, and television announcers express ideas such as possession, plurality, negation, time, possibility, politeness, anger, delight, or dislike. If possible, outings to local gathering spots, department stores, and courts may be arranged for small groups to collect language samples (tape-recorded if possible, but otherwise carefully reported verbatim). Students can be asked to categorize the various forms of expression on a chart under headings such as the following: "I say," "My friends say," "Most people say," "My teacher says," and "TV announcers say." In a game for five to ten children, a card with a language sample is chosen by a child, who must describe an appropriate situation for its use and say the sentence as it would be said in that situation. One player is chosen to judge whether the description and performance are valid.

Applying the Rules

1. *Captions.* Responses to photographs introduced as part of the diagnostic strategy can be used as the basis for short sentences to serve as captions. Varying with the discussion stimulated by the photographs, the captions may take the form of a slice of dialogue, a summary of the action, or a description of the feelings expressed on the faces of people in the picture. Depending on the subject of the picture and the point of view of those writing the caption, the sentences may be in either black English or standard English. The teacher can elicit the alternate dialect by asking how this would be phrased by another character the children might expect to speak the other dialect. Or the teacher can directly ask whether the phrase is primarily black English or standard English, how to change it to the other, and can have the children suggest a rule that will produce the change. The teacher can also check the students' concept of appropriateness by altering the description of the character or the situation so that the caption needs to be changed. For example, the photograph in figure 3 shows a little girl with a small stick in her hand. In one discussion a teacher had asked, "What was the girl thinking? Was she pretending she was someone else? If so, who? Have you ever pretended you were someone else? How did the little girl feel?" Responses included: "She alone." "She isn't feeling good." "She looking at the stick." "She's pretending the stick is a gun and she is a cowboy." When asking for captions, the teacher might expect a response such as, "Sally plays cowboy." The teacher can then ask, "How might ——— say this?" to elicit "Sally play cowboy." Or if the caption suggested was, "Sally sad," the teacher could ask how her mother or a doctor might say the same thing.

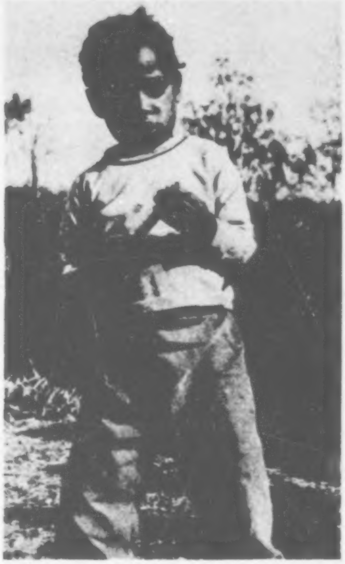
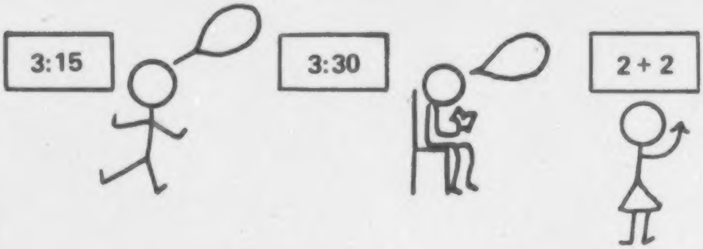


Figure 3. Photograph for eliciting captions.

2. *Stick figures, comic strips, and feltboard stories.* The teacher and the class make up a story together or take a story from children's literature or films. First the children describe the situation and the character briefly: Where will the action take place? Who is the main character? What is he doing? What is he feeling? Is the situation formal or informal? Will the character speak black English, standard English, or both? At what times? Who will the other characters be? The narrator is also described and the dialect he should use is decided upon. After the parameters have been set, the children retell a story or devise new situations for familiar storybook characters. Or the children can make up stories. As the plot unfolds, the children and/or the teacher draw the characters. Two sets of blanks are provided for language, one for the thoughts of the stick figure character, and one for the narrator. The blanks are filled in as the story progresses. The proposed language is then examined, and the children are asked if language appropriate for the situation was used. Inclusion of a time frame provides useful practice with verb tenses. Figure 4 depicts a situation which can be interpreted and elaborated in various ways.



Jimmy ____________________
Narrator ____________________

Jimmy ____________________
Narrator ____________________

Figure 4. Stick Figure Stories

3. *Eyewitness account.* In this game, children assume the role of news commentators, reviewing television shows or movies and reporting current events, or create fantasy events, such as the one below:

> A spaceman has recently landed on earth and is now visiting class ——— in the ——— school. We now join our

> Eyewitness Account reporter as he interviews the spaceman to discover more about the planet he comes from and the purpose of his visit.

Children write, enact, report, and announce news events, editorials, commercials, advertisements, and headlines. These activities can be combined usefully with ongoing work in social studies and language arts. Written and oral language can be reviewed for appropriateness, for accuracy of reporting, and for persuasiveness in the advertisements and editorials.

4. *Role playing.* Cards indicating a role and a situation are dealt out to the children. Scenes to be acted out might include the following:

> Jimmy is new at school. He feels alone and not yet part of the class. Billy decides to annoy him. Others in the class feel very bad about Billy's actions, and they speak with him. Some class members also speak with Jimmy. The teacher speaks with Billy about his behavior.

The children enact the various roles. A panel of judges selected from the class, or the class as a whole, rates the appropriateness of the language for the character in the given situation and provides feedback to the performers.

5. *Context game.* The class is divided into two teams which compete for points awarded by the teacher or a panel of judges for the performance of tasks. The tasks are described on cards which each team draws. There are two decks of cards. The first deck includes cards labeled either black English or standard English to indicate the language system to be used. Cards in the second deck describe various tasks: playing a role, completing a verb paradigm, deleting an inappropriate grammatical element, substituting an appropriate grammatical element, or translating a sentence into standard English or black English. Each team has an assigned language system to use and a task to perform. Task cards might include the following:

> Role play: You are lost and have been wandering the streets for an hour. You are worried. You see a policeman and ask him for directions.
>
> Verb paradigm: Fill in the blanks using the present tense of the verb *to be*.

I ——— we ———
you ——— you ———
he, she, it ——— they ———

Deletion: Delete the inappropriate response.

He don't want to go to the movie.
He doesn't want to go to the movie.

Substitution: Change the underlined verb to the past tense.

They say, "We want to buy a Motown record."

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the test data show that, although use of the curriculum strategies did not significantly expand the language repertoire of the experimental group in the 14-week trial period, these fifth-grade children did learn to make more appropriate choices among the black-English and standard-English rules they already controlled (Mantell, 1971). What does this suggest that children in the middle grades can learn about language?

First, children at this age (10–12) are ready to explore the social significance of language. Their awareness of and sensitivity to language can be increased. They can learn to identify the rules which differentiate black English from standard English and to use them appropriately.

Second, there are many ways to achieve language expansion and enrichment while showing respect for the child and his language. The strategies presented here are consistent with these goals and incorporate wide use of drama and children's literature and topics of interest in social studies.

Third, no elaborate technology is needed to expand children's awareness and judgment of the appropriateness of language. The suggested techniques are truly strategies which are based on the teacher's observations, diagnosis, and judgment and require no materials beyond the school's normal repertoire of props and materials.

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Contrastive Analysis in the Junior High School

Sheila C. Crowell and Ellen D. Kolba

The English teacher with a classroom of black-English speakers has three general options: (1) not to teach standard English at all and presumably to conduct the class in black English, (2) to teach standard English as a replacement for the student's dialect, and (3) to teach standard English as an alternate dialect and a useful tool in reading and writing. The first of these, though enthusiastically espoused by some, has certain practical drawbacks, since standard English is used for most communication in the mainstream culture, and virtually all school materials are written in standard English. In addition, many teachers would be incapable of conducting classes in black English. The second option implies a negative and therefore destructive attitude toward the students' dialect on the part of the teacher, and past experience has already shown that attempts to wipe out one dialect rarely result in the student's gaining fluency in another.

The third possibility—teaching standard-English usage while maintaining the student's original dialect—is the one chosen for developing the materials described in this article.* Ideally, as Dillard states in *Black English* (1972), "The school system would make the student able to *use a second dialect if he chose to do so.*" Dillard's italics are vital. The authors of this text believe the school has the responsibility to make standard English

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**Talkacross: Bridging Two Dialects*, materials for teaching standard English as a second dialect, by Sheila C. Crowell, Ellen D. Kolba, William A. Stewart, and Kenneth R. Johnson. Published by Instructional Dynamics, Inc., Chicago. Distributed by Bell & Howell, 1974.

available to the student. If the student has mastery over both the dialect he already speaks and the variety of English he encounters in school, he can elect to use either when it suits his purpose.

How can teachers help the student achieve this goal? First of all, the focus must be narrowed to a group of significant syntactic differences between black English and standard English. The differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and rhetorical style—though they strike the ear more dramatically—have been shown in recent research on black English to be relatively superficial. Teachers need not be concerned, for example, with restoring "dropped" final consonants to the student's speech, except when that dropped sound represents an underlying difference in syntax, as it does in a phrase such as *two book* or *he like that*. And when it is taught that *two books* is the standard-English equivalent of *two book*, the student is not told just to "add" the *s*-sound. Instead, he learns that black English uses one marker of plural (the word *two*) where standard English requires two (*two* plus the *s* on *books*) and that the black-English usage has parallels in West African languages.

Although the necessity of materials at the elementary level, such as those described elsewhere in this volume, is unquestioned, programs for junior high school students are needed for two reasons. First of all, this age group is in danger of being neglected due to the emphasis on preventing reading failure in the lower grades. And second, junior high students present some unique challenges and opportunities because of their degree of linguistic and social sophistication.

The aim here, then, is to provide the junior high teacher with some resources for teaching standard usage when part or all of the class is composed of speakers of black English. For the teacher whose only resource is a fairly traditional usage guide, a more valid description (linguistically) both of the student's language and of the standard-English features to be added to his linguistic repertoire is provided.

Since the greatest divergence between standard English and black English is in verb forms, the majority of the materials deal with verbs. Students practice using standard-English past tense and past participle forms and analyze how *be* and the zero copula alternate in black English. They are shown the standard-English equivalents of these expressions of aspect. Noun and pronoun forms, including possessive and plural markers and the use of relative pronouns, are the next largest group in which the dialects differ; and, accordingly, approximately a fourth of the material is devoted to this area. Finally, negation, a subject that touches on both noun and verb forms, is studied.

LINGUISTIC BASIS

The linguistic basis of the program is a contrastive analysis. The classroom activities—both oral and written—are fairly brief, and the foreign-language-teaching techniques of patterned response, substitution, transformation, and others are used as a way of demonstrating the differences between standard English and black English and of involving the students in the language processes. Although students need help to achieve mastery of standard English forms in written as well as oral language, the emphasis here is on oral work. Writing is of necessity self-conscious and therefore somewhat easier to master, especially after control is achieved orally. The fluency demanded in speaking requires more practice.

Contrastive analysis assures that students learn about the systems underlying both standard English and black English and about the points of interference between the two. In the process they learn something about language as well. As they discover, for example, that black English and standard English have different ways of making sentences negative, they are also learning that language is systematic, that language "rules" are descriptions of how sentences are put together, and that black English—like all language—is rule-governed. It is stressed that a particular form is *used* in black English or *used* in standard English but never that a form is *correct* or *incorrect*.

An endorsement of bidialectalism is implicit in this approach. Both dialects are used as a teaching base, and the students use both dialects in the classroom, learning about the differences between the rules that account for well-formed sentences in black English and standard English, translating from black English to standard English and vice versa, and producing forms in one variety of English or the other, depending on the cues given.

The modified foreign-language approach takes into account the special problems of teaching English as a second dialect. Certainly it would not be wise to proceed as if all the elements of standard English were unfamiliar. The student needs to learn about the points of contrast between black English and standard English, not whole new sets of sentences. Therefore each structure or usage item is explained, and then the student is given a chance to use it. The oral activities are intended for practice rather than for initial teaching. The amount of practice is purposely limited, since the main goal is to provide students with an understanding of how the rules of the language work. The activities given in each lesson can serve as a model for additional work for those who need it. Such a program is not saturated with drills but instead has a sampling of drill-type exercises that can easily be expanded when necessary.

COURSE MATERIALS

The Talkacross program has three components in addition to the teacher's manual: a set of twenty tape cassettes, an activity book, and an optional set of Language Master cards. The tapes include grammatical notes, instructions for activities, answers for written exercises, and the oral pattern-practice and translation activities. Students can work, if necessary, entirely on their own, either individually or in groups of varying sizes. All four speakers on the tapes (two male and two female)—the narrators as well as the students in the dialogues—are black, and all four switch between standard English and black English throughout the program.

The first cassettes and the first pages of the activity book are devoted to a series of orientation and enrichment activities. The introductory material helps students to understand something about the nature of language, what a dialect is, and, more specifically, the history of black English and how it differs from other dialects of American English. The teacher's manual recommends points at which some concepts can be reinforced or additional enrichment activities can be introduced. For example, the language excerpts discussed below may prompt a return to a discussion of the history of black English. Recorded passages in Gullah and West African pidgin English, with transcriptions and translations in the activity book, can be used to let students apply what they have learned about the structure of both black English and standard English and exercise their powers of linguistic observation.

Class activities can also be introduced at regular intervals with the photographs in the activity book. Each of the thematic pictures, used at the beginning of each unit, serves as a springboard for oral or written discussion, as well as for role playing.

Each lesson begins with a dialogue between a speaker of standard English and a speaker of black English. Because the latter uses a variety of black-English forms in his speech, the students are instructed to listen for specific contrasts, as in this introduction to a dialogue from a lesson on plurals.

NARRATOR: In the conversation between Cora and Mae, listen for the following contrasts:

Mae: . . . four tomato, twelve egg, six porkchop. . . .
Cora: . . . five tomatoes, six eggs, four porkchops. . . .

Notice that after a word like *five* or *four*, Cora adds an *s*- or *z*-sound to the noun and Mae doesn't. Here is another contrast to listen for:

Mae: . . . the last few time I been to the store. . . .
Cora: . . . how many times is this last few times you're talking about?

After a word like *many* or *few*, Cora again adds an *s*- or *z*-sound to the noun and Mae doesn't. Now listen to the whole conversation.

The aim of the dialogue is to engage the student's interest in the lesson and to focus his listening for certain differences. The dialogue can also be used as a model for class activities such as role playing or to spark interest in writing.

Sounds of door opening, footsteps, door slamming

MAE: Hey, Cora, you in the kitchen?

CORA: I'm right here, honey. Why are you so late? You've got some shopping to do, remember?

MAE: Yeah, I remember. What Momma want now?

CORA: She wants five tomatoes, six eggs, four porkchops, and two quarts of milk. You run along now, girl, before the store closes.

MAE: I thought she say last night she want four tomato, twelve egg, six porkchop, three quart milk, and two cake, and . . .

CORA: Well, little sister, this is all the money she left. She didn't have any more. You run along now! (*Pause*) Mae, I told you to run along. Why're you dawdling?

MAE: Cora, you come with me.

CORA: Now look, honey, I've got my own work to do. (*Pause*) What's the matter, honey?

MAE: It's those big boy down the street. The last few time I been to the store for Momma they yell and say they gonna jump me and take the money. They done it too—to other kid.

CORA: Why didn't you say so, sweetie? How many times is this last few times you're talking about?

MAE: Three or four time now, and I be afraid they gonna get me this time.

CORA: No, they won't, child. I'm going with you, and if they even look at you, they'll get it from me. Come on now, let's go.

MAE: Thanks, Cora. You my favorite sister.

The dialogue is followed by a brief section of grammatical notes. These are both read on the tape and printed in the activity book, so the student can listen and read simultaneously and so he will have a set of notes to keep for reference. In the following excerpt from a review lesson on zero copula and uninflected *be*, notice that the complex black-English structure is explained first and then the standard-English equivalent is given. Obviously, it is unnecessary to teach the student to speak black English, but the detailed presentation helps demonstrate that black English is systematic and not a series of random deviations from standard English.

> *Activity Book*
>
> You have seen that the following two kinds of sentences are used in black English: (1) *He tired.* (2) *He be tired.* The first, which we have called the "short" form, is used when you're talking about something that lasts only a short time or something that is always true about a person. The second, the "long" form, is used when you're talking about something that goes on for a long time or is repeated constantly. Compare the following sentences: Short Form—*She here right now. She my aunt.* Long Form—*She be here every day. She be hanging around all the time.*
>
> The equivalent for both of these kinds of sentences (*He tired* and *He be tired*) in standard English is: *He's tired.* That is, *He's tired* means the same thing in standard English as both *He tired* and *He be tired* in black English.

Following the grammatical notes in the activity book, there is occasionally a general language note that points out parallel structures in other languages or discusses part of the history of black English. For example, in the section of the activity book that deals with forming possessive pronouns, the following note appears:

> *Activity Book*
>
> In the Pidgin English of West Africa that black English is partly derived from, it was not necessary to indicate plural more than once. If a word like *two* or *many* was used, the noun following it didn't have to have a plural ending. Sentences like this one were standard: *Me work two day.*

After the dialogue and grammatical notes, the lesson moves to the first activity, which usually involves an oral cue on the tape that calls for a written response in the activity book. In the following excerpted lesson on subject-verb agreement, the student is asked to discriminate between the sound of the standard-English third person singular, present tense, and the black-English pattern. This activity reinforces the auditory discrimination the student made while listening to the dialogue. Since this is the first activity of the lesson, a simple response from the student is requested. The first part of this sample represents what the student hears on the tape. The second part of the sample shows what the student sees in the activity book. Notice that the directions are self-explanatory and that the answer to each item is given on the tape.

> NARRATOR: Now look at Activity 1 on page 32. (*Pause*) You will see the numbers 1 to 10 with the letters *S* and *D* following each number. On the tape, you will hear ten pairs of sentences. If the two sentences in the pair are exactly the same, circle *S* (for *same*) beside the proper number in your activity book. If the two sentences are different, circle *D* (for *different*). Listen to an example first:
>
> 1. Alvin teases his little brother.
>   Alvin tease his little brother.
>
> Now look at your activity book. Following the number 1 in the example, the letter *D* (for *different*) has been circled because the verb in the first sentence is *teases*, but the verb in the second sentence is *tease*—without the final *z*-sound. Now listen to another example:
>
> 2. Dorothy cries whenever she hears that song.
>   Dorothy cries whenever she hears that song.
>
> In your book, the letter *S* is circled for this pair because the two sentences are exactly alike, with the verb *cries* in both. Listen to each pair of sentences; then circle your answer when you hear the tone. Now begin.
>
> 1. The turtle always wins the race.
>   The turtle always win the race. (You should have circled *D*.)
> 2. The rabbit forgets to run.
>   The rabbit forgets to run. (You should have circled *S*.)
>
> (And so on through ten items.)
>
> *Activity Book*
>
> *Activity 1.* You will hear ten pairs of sentences. If the two sentences in the pair are exactly the same, circle *S* (for *same*) beside the proper number below. If the two sentences are different, circle *D* (for *different*).
>
> *Examples:* 1. S (D) 2. (S) D

A beginning activity may also include both a cue and a response which are oral. As in all activities with oral responses, extensive examples and reinforcement of the student's responses enable him to work independently. In this particular activity, the use of nonsense words gives the student an opportunity to generalize about the standard-English forms. (The terms "past tense" and "regular verb" have already been discussed in the part of the lesson preceding this sample activity.)

NARRATOR: Listen to the examples.

NARRATOR: dance
STUDENT: danced
NARRATOR: play
STUDENT: played

NARRATOR: Remember to give the past tense form of the regular verb when you hear the tone. Now begin.

1. jump
   Did you say "jumped"?
2. race
   Did you say "raced"? Now continue.

(And so on through ten items.)

NARRATOR: Here's another group. The words in this group are not real words, but you are to pretend that they are real and that they form their past tense in a regular way. Listen to an example first.

NARRATOR: zilk
STUDENT: zilked

NARRATOR: Remember, each of these nonsense words forms the past tense in the regular standard English way. Now begin.

1. yek
   Did you say "yekked"?
2. gribble
   Did you say "gribbled"? Now continue.

(And so on through ten items.)

As the lesson progresses, the student is ready for oral activities with more complex responses. In the following excerpt from a lesson on possessives, a model sentence is followed by a series of pronoun cues (*he*, *she*, *they*, etc.). The student repeats the sentence, inserting in turn the possessive form of each pronoun given. Again, the examples and reinforcements aid the student working on his own.

NARRATOR: Listen to the examples.

NARRATOR: Is that Gail's pet lizard? she
STUDENT: Is that her pet lizard?
NARRATOR: they
STUDENT: Is that their pet lizard?

NARRATOR: When you hear the tone, change the pronoun you hear to the possessive and use it in the sentence. Now begin.

1. Is that Martin's favorite record? he
   Did you say, "Is that his favorite record"?
2. they
   Did you say, "Is that their favorite record"? Now continue.

(And so on through ten items.)

In another example from a lesson on possessives, each sentence given on the tape is a cue for a transformation—from a sentence with *has* to a sentence with *is* and a possessive. As in the preceding activity, the student is gaining familiarity with the standard-English forms.

NARRATOR: Listen to the examples.

NARRATOR: Jerome has a plaid suit.
STUDENT: Jerome's suit is plaid.
NARRATOR: Muriel has a cross-eyed cat.
STUDENT: Muriel's cat is cross-eyed.

NARRATOR: Remember to use a possessive and *is* in your response. Now begin.

1. Felicia has a friendly spider.
   Did you say, "Felicia's spider is friendly"?
2. Ralph has a velvet shirt.
   Did you say, "Ralph's shirt is velvet"? Now continue.

(And so on through ten items.)

In the following series of activities, students work with the standard-English alternation of negative between the verb and the indefinite pronoun. The samples given here deal with *something/anything*, *someone/anyone*, and *somebody/anybody*. A similar group of activities in the same lesson treats *everything/anything*, *everyone/anyone*, and *everybody/anybody*.

NARRATOR: In the three activities that follow, you will use the same sentences, but you will be doing different things with them in each activity. Here's the first one. *Activity 1.* Listen to the examples.

NARRATOR: James found something in the drawer.
STUDENT: James found nothing in the drawer.
NARRATOR: I knew somebody who played the bongos.
STUDENT: I knew nobody who played the bongos.

NARRATOR: Remember to make your sentences negative by using the *n* words *nothing*, *nobody*, and *no one*. Now begin.

1. She wanted something to eat.
   Did you say, "She wanted nothing to eat"?
2. I asked someone for directions.
   Did you say, "I asked no one for directions"? Now continue.

(And so on through ten items.)

NARRATOR: *Activity 2.* Listen to the examples.

NARRATOR: James found something in the drawer.
STUDENT: James didn't find anything in the drawer.
NARRATOR: I knew somebody who played the bongos.
STUDENT: I didn't know anybody who played the bongos.

NARRATOR: Remember to make your sentences negative by using *didn't* with the simple form of the verb and by changing *something*, *someone*, and *somebody* to *anything*, *anyone*, and *anybody*. Now begin.

1. She wanted something to eat.
   Did you say, "She didn't want anything to eat"?
2. I asked someone for directions.
   Did you say, "I didn't ask anyone for directions"? Now continue.

(And so on through ten items.)

NARRATOR: *Activity 3* is the last activity using the same sentence. Listen to the examples.

NARRATOR: James found something in the drawer.
STUDENT: James found nothing in the drawer.
James didn't find anything in the drawer.

NARRATOR: I knew somebody who played the bongos.
STUDENT: I knew nobody who played the bongos.
I didn't know anybody who played the bongos.

NARRATOR: Remember to make two negative sentences. In the first one, use the *n* word *nothing*, *nobody*, or *no one*. In the second, make the verb negative by using *didn't* with the simple form of the verb and changing *something*, *someone*, or *somebody* to *anything*, *anyone*, or *anybody*. Now begin.

1. She wanted something to eat.
   Did you say, "She wanted nothing to eat" and
   "She didn't want anything to eat"?

2. I asked someone for directions.
   Did you say, "I asked no one for directions" and "I didn't ask anyone for directions"? Now continue.
3. We needed somebody to go with us.

(And so on through 10 items.)

When the student has had some practice with the standard-English forms (usually in four or five activities involving a variety of operations, such as substitution, transformation, question formation, and so on), he returns to the contrast between black English and standard English presented at the beginning of the lesson. This sample, from a lesson on *has* and *have*, calls for translation from black English to standard English. In this lesson students have previously dealt with agreement problems. Now they focus on question formation, specifically on the contrast between the black-English use of *is* and *have* and the standard-English [illegible] of *has/have.*

NARRATOR: Listen to the examples.

NARRATOR: Is they really done that?
STUDENT: Have they really done that?
NARRATOR: Have James come to the end of the page yet?
STUDENT: Has James come to the end of the page yet?

NARRATOR: All the questions you hear will be in black English. Give the equivalent of each one—that is, a question that means the same thing—in standard English. Remember to use *has* or *have.* Now begin.

1. Is he gone downtown to the movies?
   Did you say, "Has he gone downtown to the movies"?
2. Is you stayed overnight at Aunt Mabel's?
   Did you say, "Have you stayed overnight at Aunt Mabel's"? Now continue.

(And so on through 10 items.)

The final activity of the seven in each lesson again requires the student to write, sometimes in response to an oral cue, sometimes as part of an activity that is contained only in the activity book. The following sample is from a lesson on negation. In this lesson and the one preceding it, the student has been shown that the use of *ain't* plus an unmarked verb (called here the "simple form") versus *ain't* plus the *-ed* form of the verb is systematic in black English. This activity provides practice in supplying the appropriate standard-English equivalents for *ain't,* and it reinforces the student's awareness of the legitimacy of black English.

NARRATOR: Each of the sentences you hear will be in black English. If the speaker uses the simple form of the verb with *ain't,* write *didn't* in the blank. If the speaker uses the *-ed* form of the verb, write *hasn't* or *haven't* in the blank. Listen to an example first.

1. I ain't want you to buy me that.

Now look at your activity book. You will see that *didn't* has been written in the blank in the first example sentence because the simple form of the verb is used. Here's another example.

2. We ain't talked to you for three weeks.

Look at your book again. In this case, the word *haven't* is written in the blank because the *-ed* form of the verb is used in the sentence. Now begin.

1. Mrs. Mays ain't asked about you today.
   Did you write *hasn't* in the blank?
2. Ain't they finish the work?
   Did you write *didn't* in the blank?

(And so on through 10 items.)

Activity Book

Below are ten sentences, each containing a blank. If you hear the simple form of the verb with *ain't* in the sentence on the tape, write *didn't* in the blank. If you hear the *-ed* form of the verb in the sentence on the tape, write *hasn't* or *haven't* in the blank.

Examples: 1. I *didn't* want you to buy me that.
2. We *haven't* talked to you for three weeks.

1. Mrs. Mays ——— asked about you today.
2. ——— they finish the work?

(And so on through 10 items.)

USING THE COURSE

Since these materials were developed to replace the traditional teaching of standard-English usage in the language arts classroom, none of the lessons—with the exception of the introductory ones—takes up a whole class period. Instead, each lesson is planned for twenty to thirty minutes daily for a whole week. This is achieved by dividing the taped lessons into two parts, Day 1 and Day 2. The teacher's manual indicates where the break occurs for each lesson and recommends the following weekly procedure:

Day 1

1. Teacher introduces the lesson and provides background material (included in manual).
2. Dialogue and grammatical explanation are played, followed by discussion, where appropriate.
3. Activities 1–3 are worked on.

TOTAL TIME: Approximately 20 minutes.

*First Reinforcement Day**

1. Teacher uses model drills supplied in manual for group work. *or*
2. Teacher uses suggested games, student-written drills, or role play based on picture preceding each unit. *or*
3. Selections from students' literature anthology are analyzed for use of black English.

Day 2

1. Teacher recaps Day 1 and prepares students for activities to come.
2. Activities 4–7 are worked on.

TOTAL TIME: Approximately 15 minutes.

Second Reinforcement Day

Teacher uses one of the techniques mentioned under First Reinforcement Day.

Mastery Day

In this final day of the week, the student is given a chance to work individually with the Language Master machine (Bell & Howell). There are 5–7 Language Master cards for each lesson. Each card contains a sample sentence with written instructions that tell the student whether he is to repeat, transform, or translate the sentence he hears. The student inserts the card in the machine, hears the sentence he is to work with, then records his version of the sentence. He then plays back the card and checks his response.

Adopting this course for a language arts curriculum is more than a matter of finding the right number of minutes per day. Connections must be made between the teaching of usage and the teaching of literature and composition/rhetoric. Respect for the student's own dialect must underlie the whole curriculum or the student will soon judge this new approach to usage as just another way of saying "no" to something he uniquely possesses.

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*Obviously, if the student is working individually, the suggested reinforcement days will be omitted. However, recommendations for individual reinforcement activities are included in the manual.

Fortunately, more and more literature programs in the junior high school include selections from black writers who use black English as well as standard English. The opportunities for relating the literature strand of the curriculum to the grammar/usage strand are obvious. Appropriateness of dialect, for example, can be demonstrated by having students read selections in which writers switch from standard English in narrative to black English in dialogue.

Composition programs that recommend the use of a daily journal or a free-writing time lend themselves to the bidialectal approach. In his journal the student should be allowed to use whatever dialect he feels comfortable with. Later, when preparing a paper for presentation to the class, the student will use standard English—unless, of course, black English is appropriate for that particular piece of writing.

CONTENTS OF THE COURSE

The material in Talkacross is divided into seven units plus introductory and enrichment lessons. With the exception of the introductory lessons, the units can be used independently of one another if students need help only in specific areas of syntax. The units are divided as follows:

Introduction

1. What is a dialect?
2. The history of black English
3. Black English—style and syntax

Unit 1. Plurals

1. Some terms you should know
2. Using noun plural markers—e.g., *two book* and *few time* contrasted with *two books* and *few times*
3. Forming irregular plurals—e.g., *mens, childrens,* and *peoples* contrasted with *men, children,* and *people*

Unit 2. Possessives

1. Forming possessive nouns—e.g., *Mrs. Deacon house* contrasted with *Mrs. Deacon's house*

2. Forming possessive pronouns—e.g., *They brought they book* contrasted with *They brought their book*
3. Using prenominal and postnominal possessive pronouns—e.g., *This is our book* and *This book is ours*

Unit 3. Subject-Verb Agreement

1. Forming the third person singular, present tense—e.g., *she say* contrasted with *she says*
2. Forming the rest of the present tense—e.g., *I hits* and *they hits* contrasted with *I hit* and *they hit*
3. Using *don't* and *doesn't—he don't* contrasted with *he doesn't* and *they doesn't* contrasted with *they don't*
4. Using standard English *am, is, are*

Unit 4. Past Tense and Past Participle

1. Forming the simple past of regular verbs—e.g., *I walk home every day last week* contrasted with *I walked home every day last week*
2. Forming the simple past of irregular verbs
3. Forming the preterit with *has/have*—e.g., *They done gone there* contrasted with *They have gone there*
4. Forming past participles of irregular verbs
5. Forming the preterit with *had*

Unit 5. Be

1. Black English zero copula, or short form—e.g., *He tired* contrasted with *He is tired (right now)*
2. Black English uninflected *be*, or long form—e.g., *He be tired* contrasted with *He is tired (all the time)*
3. Black English short and long forms contrasted with standard English inflected *be*
4. Forming the simple past—e.g., *he tired/he be tired, you was tired* contrasted with *he was tired, you were tired*
5. Forming the preterit with *has/have*—e.g., *she done been/she been* contrasted with *she has been*
6. Forming the preterit with *had*—e.g., *Cora been in charge* contrasted with *Cora had been in charge*
7. Forming the simple future—e.g., *she tired (tomorrow)* contrasted with *she will be tired (tomorrow)*

Unit 6. Negation

1. Forming negatives in the present tense—e.g., *I ain't* + noun, adjective, adverb or *I ain't* + *ing* form contrasted with *I'm not* + noun, adjective, adverb, or *I'm not* + *ing* form

2. Forming negatives in the simple past—e.g., *we ain't go* contrasted with *we didn't go*
3. Forming negatives in the preterit with *has*—e.g., *we ain't gone* contrasted with *we haven't gone*
4. Other negatives in the present tense—*ain't* or *don't be* contrasted with *isn't*, and *don't be* or *don't* contrasted with *doesn't*
5. Forming the negatives of *have* and *got*
6. Multiple negatives: 1—*She don't have no money* contrasted with *She doesn't have any money*
7. Multiple negatives: 2—*He don't like nothing* contrasted with *He doesn't like anything* or *He likes nothing*
8. Multiple negatives: 3—*We ain't never like Joe/We don't hardly ever go there* contrasted with *We never liked Joe/We hardly ever go there*

Unit 7. Subjects, Subject Markers, and Relatives

1. Double subjects—e.g., *Mary she said* contrasted with *Mary said*
2. Another kind of doubling—e.g., *this here/that there one* contrasted with *this/that one*
3. Using *me, him*, and *her* as subjects
4. *It's a car* contrasted with *There's a car*
5. Another lesson about *there's*—e.g., *Here go a picture* and *There go a picture* contrasted with *Here's a picture* and *There's a picture*
6. Black English zero relative—e.g., *I know a girl works in that building* contrasted with *I know a girl who works in that building*

Enrichment Lesson

1. Two varieties of black dialect
2. Gullah and West Indian stories

PART FOUR

STRATEGIES FOR TEACHING READING TO DIALECT SPEAKERS

What approach to teaching reading is appropriate for children who speak one of the many varieties of English? Are there special considerations that need to be made about the materials used in teaching beginning reading? Should dialect readers be used in the initial reading instruction for dialect speakers? What importance does the child's own language have for beginning reading instruction?

Beginning Reading: Let's Make It a Language Experience for Black English Speakers

Angela M. Jaggar

In 1972, Goodman wrote: "It is entirely possible that within the next decade virtually *all* children will be learning to read, easily and effectively" (1972a). The solution to the problem of teaching reading lies in understanding that reading is a language process, not an independent skill to be taught mechanically. Further, it must be recognized that children are competent users of language. Goodman says, if we see reading as a language-based process and view children as users of language,

> . . . our goal becomes one of making literacy an extension of the learners' natural language development. Instruction will be successful to the extent that it capitalizes on children's language learning ability and their language competence. (p. 508)

Unfortunately, large numbers of children in our society, particulary poor, inner-city black children, are not viewed as users of language or, at least, not as *competent* users of language. The literature of the past decade is replete with "evidence" that poor children, among them large numbers of blacks, are deficient in language development, and with claims that their failure in reading stems from this language deficiency. But current research findings are forcing a reassessment of the black child's language development. There is increasing evidence to show that black children in the inner city are not deficient in language but speak a different dialect (Povich and Baratz, 1967; Baratz and Shuy, 1969; Labov, 1970; Dillard, 1972). Black English, as it is called, is now recognized by more and more educators as a well-developed variety of English. It is rule governed but differs systematically from standard English in a number of ways. Unfortunately, because the black child's language is different, some educators have tended to misinterpret his language development and thinking abilities and have underestimated his potential for learning to read.

Based on the recognition that reading is a language-based process and that the black child is a competent user of language, it is proposed that the child's language be used as the primary medium for teaching him to read. A widely recognized approach through which this might be accomplished is the language experience approach.

THE LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE APPROACH

Principles Underlying the Language Experience Approach

Three principles underlie the language experience approach to reading. First, reading is a language-based process, so those responsible for reading instruction must recognize the fundamental relationship that exists between oral and written language and must capitalize on the child's oral language abilities (Lee and Allen, 1963; Hall, 1970; Stauffer, 1970). In learning to read, the child draws on his accumulated knowledge of language to decode and comprehend the written message. If the written material differs to any great extent from the child's language, as in the case of the black-English speaker, problems can occur in both decoding and comprehension (Goodman, 1965; Weiner and Cromer, 1967). The language experience approach eliminates the mismatch between the linguistically different child's spoken language and the language in conventional reading material by using the child's own speech, written down by the teacher, as the instructional medium for his initial reading material (Serwer, 1969; Cramer, 1971).

The second principle is that material based on a child's interests and experiences will be the most meaningful to the child (Lee and Allen, 1963; Stauffer, 1965; Goodman, 1972a). Hall (1970) points out that "... reading has the most meaning to a pupil when the materials being read are expressed in his language and rooted in his experience"(p. 4). Getting meaning from the printed message, the primary goal of reading, depends in great measure on how relevant the content of the written material is to the child. Use of the child's language to create the reading materials insures that they reflect his experiences, his feelings, and his ideas, and avoids the problems frequently criticized in primers that deal with characters, settings, and experiences that are unrelated or even contradictory to those inner-city children know.

The third principle is that reading should be taught as a natural development of skill in communication. Listening, speaking, reading, and writing are interrelated processes, and the language experience approach stresses the teaching of reading and writing as a natural extension of developing skill in listening and speaking. Reading becomes a creative and rewarding language experience when children are provided with many opportunities to express their thoughts, feelings, and beliefs, and when those personal expressions are recorded in writing which they can then decode into language that is familiar and meaningful (Hall, 1970; Goodman, 1972a).

The Language Experience Method

A major characteristic of the language experience approach is that it integrates the child's language and experiences into the process of learning to read. By providing opportunities for discussion, conversations, exploration of ideas, and expression of feelings, it stimulates oral language about things which are meaningful to children. These language experiences provide the content for individual and group experience stories that are composed by the children themselves and recorded by the teacher. The written records of individual and group experiences become the basic materials for initial reading instruction. In this way, children see that writing is talk written down and begin to develop the concept that reading is a process of decoding or recoding written symbols into oral language (Lee and Allen, 1963; Stauffer, 1965 and 1970; Hall, 1970).

The unique characteristic of the language experience approach, then, is the use of child-composed experience stories. Children are introduced to the process of developing experience stories by participating in group-composed charts that become records of common experiences. These are discussed by the children and recorded by the teacher on the blackboard or on primary chart paper. Opportunities are also provided to record experiences of small groups that are organized on the basis of interest, language facility, and social maturity (Lee and Allen, 1963; Stauffer, 1965; Hall, 1970).

In these group experiences it is important that the topic for discussion be something familiar and of interest to the children. Although not all children in the group will contribute to the final recorded story, all are involved in the communication process either as speakers or as listeners. When the story is completed, the teacher usually reads it aloud to the group, emphasizing left-to-right progression on the chart as she reads. Then, the group may be asked to read the story together and, following this, individual children may read the story aloud with as much help as needed (Lee and Allen, 1963; Stauffer, 1965 and 1970; Hall, 1970).

It is imperative that the group stories accurately reflect the children's oral language patterns. Although tempted to make changes in children's expressions, the teacher should be extraordinarily careful to record the children's exact phrases. As Lefevre (1966) points out:

> If teachers insist on instant correction, incessant correction, of every so-called mistake the child makes in speech, reading, and writing, the child will close up like an oyster. He will hate to recite and hate to write in school. (p. 128)

The teacher must recognize that the process of developing the experience story is much more important than the product itself.

Apart from the initial group-composed stories, the language experience approach individualizes reading instruction. Participation in stimulating and enjoyable group language experiences generally motivates children to want to write their own stories. As this desire is expressed, the teacher immediately encourages the child and helps him by recording his words. No matter what the language of the child, his individual stories should be recorded for him in his own language patterns; the written record should be an accurate representation of his oral rendition. No attempt should be made to change the child's vocabulary or to "correct" his speech. Each child's stories then become his *primary* reading material—material that is uniquely his own in both content and mode of expression.

Although the child's own stories are his basic reading materials, he also reads other material as his skill in reading increases. Stories that other children have composed and the group stories all become resources for reading. Furthermore, children are exposed to more conventional printed materials, such as basal readers and trade books. These provide additional vicarious experiences for children to talk, "write," and read about. They also present a wide variety of language models and can be used to develop sensitivity to interesting and varied language forms and to increase vocabulary.

In the language experience approach, the development of reading vocabulary and instruction in specific reading skills remain essential elements in increasing the child's facility in reading, but there is no imposed sequence for vocabulary or skill instruction. Why should the same sequence for initial reading vocabulary be imposed on all children when empirical data demonstrate that vocabulary varies widely between individuals and among groups? Levy's (1972) research has shown the minimal overlap between the black child's oral vocabulary and the vocabulary of books used to teach him to read. It should be remembered that vocabulary in many beginning reading texts has been normed on children whose language and experiences differ markedly from those of the inner-city black child. In the language experience approach there is an implicit control on vocabulary, that is, the child's own oral competence determines his reading vocabulary. As his oral language and his dictated stories become more sophisticated, they provide the basis for expansion of his reading vocabulary.

The development of reading skills, such as phonic and structural analysis skills, is basic to any reading program, and direct and indirect instruction in these skills is an important component of the language experience approach. However, skill development is approached functionally by using the child's own stories for diagnosis, planning, and instruction. Again, there is no imposed sequence for skill development; skills evolve in a natural sequence based on individual need. But the teacher must always remember to respect the value of the child's language. In teaching some phonic skills, for example, it is inappropriate to focus on the child's pronunciation rather than focusing on his perception of graphic symbol differences for decoding purposes. A detailed discussion of teaching specific reading skills to black children whose phonological system differs from standard English appears in "Teaching Reading Skills to Black-English Speakers" by Beatrice Levy, which follows this article.

An effective language experience approach, then, provides a wide variety of real and vicarious experiences that stimulate oral expression among children. Reading materials based on those experiences and recorded in the children's language provide the basic material for developing skill and interest in reading.

Issues to be Resolved

The decision to use the language experience approach to teach black children to read carries with it implications for practice that are problematic. Initially, teachers are concerned about the effects of using black English in a classroom which includes both black-English and standard-English speakers. They question the practice of exposing standard-English speakers to nonstandard language forms. This issue needs to be explored.

First, many educators and linguists support the practice of exposing standard-English speakers to black English as well as exposing black-English speakers to standard English in order to increase language flexibility and awareness of language variation. The focus on acceptance and respect for each child's ideas, feelings, experiences, and, most importantly, his mode of expressing them, can lead to increased intercultural understanding and improved communication (Malmstrom, 1970). Yet these values, inherent in this approach, are not widely accepted for all children. For example, the black-English speaking child is perhaps quite competent in comprehending his standard-English speaking peers because of his wide exposure to standard English via radio, television, school instruction, and so on (Ervin-Tripp, 1972). His standard-English speaking counterpart, however, is probably less competent at understanding the black-English speaker due to his limited exposure to black English and to its lower prestige.

The goal of learning to speak standard English is certainly a valid one for the black-English speaking child; but it should *not* be confused with learning to read. In a mixed classroom exposure to a second dialect helps to increase the child's bidialectal proficiency (Malmstrom, 1970). For the black child, productive competence in standard English requires that he first become aware of language differences. Increased proficiency in the second dialect follows as the child is exposed to a variety of standard-English language models and is given opportunities to incorporate and practice new forms in meaningful and natural activities (Cullinan, Jaggar, and Strickland, 1974). It is absolutely essential, however, that educators not use initial reading instruction as a mechanism to try to change a student's dialect or to have him learn a new dialect (Hall, 1972). Although pointing out comparisons between standard English and black English is a valid practice in helping children to understand language variation, it should *not* interrupt the primary goal of teaching children to recognize graphic representations of their own oral language.

The question of which language to use for group stories is less clear cut. There is little doubt that within a fairly homogeneous group of black-English speakers, group stories will include many black-English forms. In a mixed group, however, the teacher must be very careful in making the written record of children's oral contributions to the story. At least initially, it is strongly recommended that each child's contribution be recorded as it is spoken. This author believes that it would undermine the aims of the language experience approach to change a black-English speaker's contribution to a story while accepting a standard-English speaker's contribution verbatim. Such an action transmits rejection of the child even though it may be subtle, nonverbal, and possibly unconscious. As exposure to a variety of language models increases awareness of standard-English forms, understanding of language variation, and facility in the use of standard-English patterns, teachers can begin in group stories to use standard-English forms more frequently and consistently. These can be explained as more typical of the forms used in most writing. The process differs very little from that used with standard-English speaking pupils. The immature standard-English speaker also uses nonstandard language forms which should be recorded verbatim. He, too, needs the opportunity to master the more mature forms of acceptable speech. In both cases the process depends upon the teacher's sensitivity to the individual and timing in the progression toward reading standard English.

It is likely that group stories will incorporate standard-English forms earlier and more frequently than stories composed by an individual child; thus, group stories provide an effective vehicle for helping children to make a transition to reading standard English. Gradually, through increased exposure to standard-English published material, and with increased facility in speaking standard English, children's individual stories should naturally begin to include more standard-English patterns. If, however, a black child resists movement toward the use of standard English in his individual stories, his choice should be respected (Cramer, 1971).

Another issue met in implementing the language experience approach is the extent to which a child's nonstandard forms should be represented in the written record. Black English varies from standard English in both phonological and grammatical aspects. Should the teacher alter spellings to represent phonological variation? For example, many teachers wonder if it is appropriate to record *aks* for the child's */æks/* meaning "ask," or *des* to record /dɛs/ meaning "desk," when taking dictation from a child. Both of these are examples of pronunciation differences and need not create a problem in recording written language. Just as the teacher of a standard-English speaking child records *going to* for /gənə/, the teacher of black-English speakers records *ask* and *desk* in standard spelling.

The English spelling system, as Goodman (1972b), Fasold (1969), and others have indicated, is standardized across all dialects of the language, and there is no need to modify the written form to show the child's pronunciation patterns. Just as the standard-English speaker learns to distinguish between the written forms of the homonyms *their* and *there*, so the black-English speaker distinguishes between *pen* and *pin*, which may be homonyms in his speech.

The crucial factor in representing the child's speech appropriately rests in recording the different grammatical forms and syntactic patterns in his language (Hall, 1970; Malmstrom, 1970). Thus, if the child says, /də prɪnsɪpəl, hi stei ɪn də afɪs/, the teacher writes, "The principal, he stay in the office," recognizing that subject redundancy and deletion of the third person verb marker are regular grammatical features of black English and should be recorded in order to best represent the child's meaning.

In coming to decisions on how to represent in writing the language of children in mixed groups of beginning readers, the teacher must keep always in the forefront the need to demonstrate the principle that writing is speech written down. It is important, therefore, to maintain the strongest possible correspondence between the structure of the child's language and that of the written material, especially in beginning reading instruction. As children progress from decoding to more fluent reading for comprehension, this control can be gradually relaxed.

Conditions for Success

The success of the language experience approach depends to a great extent on the teacher (Hall, 1970). Success is affected by the teacher's attitudes toward the children and their language; by his ability to create a rich language environment; by his understanding of the process of learning to read; and by his knowledge of the structural differences between the children's language and standard English.

The teacher's attitude is all important. A teacher must believe sincerely that all children come into the classroom with worthwhile experiences, the desire to learn, and the ability to communicate their thoughts and feelings. A teacher must recognize that the child is a competent user of language, even if his speech differs radically from traditional norms, and the black child's language must be accepted as it is.

Another requirement for success is a language environment that provides many varied real and vicarious experiences for children to talk about. The teacher must utilize art, literature, music, manipulative activities, and so on, to stimulate thought and expression, so that listening, speaking, reading, and writing are integrated as natural vehicles for exploring and interpreting the physical and social world.

The teacher must avoid confusing learning to read with learning to read standard English. Clearly the goal of initial reading instruction is to teach the child to decode and understand written symbols; later he can progress to reading standard English. The teacher must realize that the black child's language competence is adequate for learning to read (Goodman, 1972a; Hall, 1972) and that competence in oral production of standard English is not a prerequisite for learning to read.

In order to understand and accurately represent the child's language in written form, the teacher needs to know the basic phonological and grammatical characteristics of black English and how they differ from the standard-English system. This knowledge provides the basis for planning gradual introduction of forms and structures and for diagnosing the difficulties black-English speaking children may encounter as they come to read conventional standard-English materials. Labov (1967) points out that to analyze and correct children's oral reading, teachers must be able to distinguish dialect differences in pronunciation and syntax from mistakes in reading. Further, in helping children to recognize the differences between black English and standard English, the teacher must become aware of how the two dialects function among different social groups and in different social settings and must guide the children to the discovery of criteria for appropriateness of language.

CONCLUSION

At least part of the solution to teaching reading lies in understanding that children—of all classes—are competent users of language and that their language and experiences offer rich resources for creating materials to develop skill and interest in reading. The advantages of making beginning reading a language experience for young black children make it necessary that this approach be put to wider use in classrooms with black-English speakers.

Linguistic Relevance. The language experience approach is based on the relation between oral language and reading and capitalizes on the black child's competence in his native dialect. His language patterns determine the patterns in the reading material, minimizing the interference from mismatch between oral and written patterns.

Content Relevance. Materials developed from the child's speech are based on his experience and provide content that is meaningful to him. From the beginning, this reading material facilitates reading comprehension.

Motivation. The language experience approach builds motivation for reading through the interest that evolves naturally from stimulating, meaningful experiences and the personal involvement that children experience in creating their own reading material. And what better way to increase motivation in reading than by providing interesting opportunities for children to succeed at reading!

Success in Reading. With content that is meaningful and language patterns that are familiar, decoding and comprehension are greatly facilitated. Evidence of comprehension indicates success in reading, and when the child recognizes his success, his motivation is further reinforced.

Self-Esteem. Respect for the child's language and his life experiences is demonstrated in making them the basis for his reading material. This strengthens his self-image, and his sense of worth is also enhanced by the success he experiences in learning to read.

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Teaching Reading Skills to Dialect Speakers

Beatrice K. Levy

RATIONALE

Sociolinguists have presented evidence that speakers of black English use systematic and highly structured language forms which are unique to their historical and cultural backgrounds. Dillard (1972) described syntactic structures in the dialect which have caused poor communication between speakers of black English and speakers of standard English. From their linguistic data, Labov (1969) and Shuy (1969) identified phonological and grammatical variables which may interfere with children's learning to read. Baratz (1969) considered the differences between the two forms of English to be insurmountable for initial reading instruction and recommended the use of dialect materials for beginning pupils.

The work of the sociolinguists is of special interest to teachers of reading, since they are eminently aware that large numbers of black children are failing to read satisfactorily. Teachers are seeking means to improve this situation; in order to translate their concern into practice, they must relate the linguistic generalizations to their own pupils. The critical issue for them is to anticipate the needs of children in their classrooms.

Consistent with this focus of interest, teachers have asked the following questions: (1) What is the relationship between oral language (receptive and expressive) and reading? (2) Do all black children speak black English? (3) What can teachers do to minimize any difficulties black English speakers may have in learning reading?

Unfortunately, there are no definitive or simple answers to any of these questions. There are, however, several sources of significant partial replies, and these recommend the development of special instructional techniques for dialect speakers.

Relationship of Oral Language to Reading

Recent theoretical descriptions of reading suggest that language processing is the central aspect of reading behavior (Goodman, 1970; Brown, 1970; Smith, 1971). The theorists have not explicated all of the features of the relationship between oral language and reading, but they have indicated that whatever ability a child has to handle linguistic structures will affect his reading. Evidence from the experimental research of Ruddell (1965) and Bougere (1969) has demonstrated that discrepancies between the vocabulary and syntax familiar to children orally and the language of written materials correlate with—and may be responsible for—difficulties in reading.

Who Speaks Black English?

Dillard (1972) estimated that 80 percent of all American Negroes speak black English. A review of his source for this number, however, failed to clarify its basis and its utility is thus limited. But Dillard's suggestion of social status as an index of probable black-English occurrence is supported by the research of Labov and Robins (1969) and Shuy (1970). It appears that low socioeconomic status Negroes, relatively isolated from the cultural prestige groups in jobs and in school, are likely to be dialect speakers. However, it should be noted that Shuy (1970) concluded from his investigations that all speakers of a low-prestige dialect who are of school age would probably produce features of a prestige dialect in some oral language circumstances. This expectation was confirmed in this author's research (Levy, 1972). An analysis of dialect features in the speech of first graders in a low socioeconomic neighborhood showed widely varying patterns. It was clear, however, that every child's speech contained some black English features and that no child used them all or used them consistently.

What Teachers Can Do

As a basis for instructional strategies, then, teachers find the suggestion that a greater degree of correspondence between familiar oral language and written language may facilitate reading achievement. There are also indications that discrepancies between oral language and written texts are most likely to be found in pupils of low socioeconomic status. When these observations are considered in conjunction with the fact that there is a high rate of reading disabilities among disadvantaged black children, then it seems reasonable to answer the third question by recommending modifications in reading instruction in schools where such pupils are found.

This response does not deny the possibility that other factors may also be involved in the children's reading difficulties. The correlates of being poor and black—poor nutrition and housing, anxieties and racial discrimination, limited varieties of educating experiences--may also be operative, of course. None of these conditions, however, precludes the advisability of direct pedagogical efforts with the resources available to educators. Certain modifications in reading instruction for black-English speakers are, therefore, recommended in this paper.

The procedures described below have been developed in the course of working with New York City school teachers and are related to the dialect variables identified by sociolinguists as possible points of interference in reading. They are primarily concerned with phonological details related to orthography and with semantic and syntactic elements of language. They do not include Baratz's (1969) recommendation that dialect materials should be substituted for standard English texts. This may be feasible for some children, and the utility of primers in dialect should be researched, but their general usefulness is not indicated at this time. Actually, Baratz's own investigation suggested that many black children are bidialectal: when her subjects were asked to repeat standard-English sentences, they recoded and correctly produced black-English equivalents. (Most of the standard-English speakers recoded black-English sentences and repeated them in *their* familiar dialect.)

RECOMMENDED TEACHING PROCEDURES

A large part of elementary level teaching of reading is concerned with word recognition skills, designed to enable children to identify words they may not have seen before in print. One technique for identifying unfamiliar words is phonic analysis, or finding orthographic clues to phonemes. Learning this technique requires the subskill of auditory discrimination. That is, a phoneme is identified and children are taught to seek spelling patterns which are likely signals for that sound unit. This part of phonic analysis may present difficulties.

Auditory Discrimination Considerations

Obviously, black-English speakers discern phonemes, the significant sounds of language, for purposes of communication. Earlier treatises on inadequacies in this ability are no longer tenable. As Smith (1971) has cogently explained, most language users hear phonological details in the forms in which they expect to hear them, on the basis of their familiarity with larger linguistic constructions. Furthermore, Baratz's research showed that when children are asked to repeat structures, they are likely to recode to their familiar dialect forms. These two phenomena may represent the core of the auditory discrimination problems which many teachers have observed in their work with children whose dialects are different from their own. The procedures described below are an attempt to overcome these problems.

In a phonics lesson, the questions for the reading teacher are (1) whether or not pupils actually hear the phonemes under study and (2) whether variant pronunciations with which they may respond should be accepted. Normally, a teacher does not test the aural reception directly but infers that a child has identified a phoneme correctly if he reproduces it. What if a child responds with a sound which varies from the expected one? If the teacher is familiar with the pronunciation patterns of the pupils, then dialect features will be recognized when they occur. Dialect-variant pronunciations should be accepted, since the primary purpose of the lesson is to help children to recognize words to obtain meaning from print. (The distinction that should be made between speech and reading lessons will be discussed later.)

In order to facilitate the children's identification of the phonemes which are to be related to orthographic patterns, the sequential development of the exercise should be accommodated to the children's phonological systems. This means that when the teacher selects pairs of words for contrasts in order to help pupils to distinguish a particular phoneme and presents these pairs in a sequence from gross to fine differences, black-English features should be taken into account in developing the sequence.

For example, sociolinguists have pointed out that in black English the /ay/ sound (the "long i" in phonics, as in *time*) is often pronounced as /a:/, an elongation of the vowel sound, so that *time* and *Tom* become homonyms. (Labov, 1969). Furthermore, this pronunciation is more likely to occur before voiced consonants, such as /b/, /d/, and /g/ (Dillard, 1972). In a phonic analysis lesson, the aim of the auditory discrimination segment is simply to establish identification of the sound for which the orthography is a clue. When the teacher wants children to recognize that the pattern *i-consonant-e* is a clue to a probable "long i" and that an adjoining letter can be added to make words like *ride*, *hike*, and *time*, the exercise should begin with words offering the least probable confusion, that is, words with voiceless consonants, such as /f/, /k/, /p/, and /t/. For children who continue to have difficulties, the teacher may also need to demonstrate dialect variations of the sound.

Example of an Auditory Discrimination Sequence

The teacher might begin by presenting the following words, with a picture or an object as a reference key, and asking children to identify the initial sounds and their similarity:

I ice Ike

The children might then be asked to listen for pairs of words to distinguish those which begin with the same sound as *ice*. The samples of pairs have been selected to provide gross differences in the initial vowel phoneme (/a/ as in *on* is avoided):

oak	idea	Isaac	only
Ike	itch	user	island

Next, the following words may be presented with the phoneme of interest in a medial position where it is a little more difficult to discriminate (and where more examples are available):

bike ripe kite knife hide dime fine

Then, ask the children to identify the vowel sound in pairs where the contrast is usually maintained in black English:

bike	rip	cat	jove	hide	dame	fine
buck	ripe	kite	jive	hid	dime	fun

Finally, move to pairs where the contrast is often not maintained:

time	rod	write	file	fire
Tom	ride	rot	fail	far

Three points should be noted in relation to the selections above. The first is that while the "long i" words in the pairs have consistent spelling patterns (i-consonant-e), this selection is not necessary in the parts of the lesson where the sounds and not the letters are of central interest. For older children who need this kind of lesson, however, such choices often prevent confusion with words whose spelling patterns may be remembered. Second, words with final /r/ and /l/ were included in the later groupings, since these phonemes are likely to vary in black English and standard English (as they do in southern dialect and in New York City speech). Finally, the pupils have not been asked to contribute words. When the children seem to have mastered the first two steps, the teacher can ask them to contribute words of their own. When they can do that easily, the auditory discrimination exercise is no longer necessary.

Up to this point the children have been working in a group. In order to make certain that each child can independently distinguish words with /ay/ from words with other vowel sounds, the teacher will probably want to distribute worksheets on which children mark appropriate pictures of objects. Written words should not be used yet, since the objective is to force attention to sounds.

Visual Recognition of Orthographic Clues

As soon as pupils have indicated an adequate recognition of the phoneme under study, visual clues to that sound may be introduced, beginning with familiar words from language experience charts or other sources (e.g., *like*, *five*, *kite* and *ride*).

Dialect-related variations of vowel pronunciations should be accepted when children read the words aloud. Teachers who have had some background in linguistics will recognize that the pattern of acceptance is consistent with the definition of a phoneme as a cluster of similar sounds which are perceived as a single sound in a given language. Variations are simply allophones which do not make a difference in meaning. If there is some doubt that a child is distinguishing words like *rod* and ride, then ask him to use them in a sentence.

Contextual Application

At the last stage of a phonics lesson, after numerous words have been identified, children are usually asked to read words of the newly learned pattern in sentences. At this point, each reader is applying his oral language experience to the graphic presentation of each word and of the whole sequence, providing a complex set of language information cues which he relates to the word as part of the sequential structure of the sentence. The black-English speaker may recode the print into his familiar oral patterns. For example, he may see *John's brother can ride the new bike* and produce in oral reading *John brother can ride the new bike*, since the genitive relationship may be expressed by word proximity and order in his dialect, rather than by use of /z/ as the final phoneme in *John's*.

Should the teacher insist on a pupil's pronunciation of the standard-English form for *John's*? The answer to this question must be "no" for pragmatic reasons. When the objective of a reading lesson is to learn phonic analysis of words like *ride* and *bike*, attention should be focused on recognition of words in that orthographic pattern. Digressions for other issues should be permitted only if there is some interference in meeting the lesson's objective. Therefore, when dialect variations do not prevent identification of the words crucial to a lesson, they should be ignored. When constructing teaching materials, the teacher would be well-advised to eliminate from the exercise any extraneous structures that differ in black English and standard English. [Shuy (1969) listed variant structures which can be avoided.] On the other hand, if the objective of the lesson were recognition of the graphic signal *'s*, then the pronunciation response to the signal, or, at least, a question to ascertain that a possessive or genitive relationship has been recognized by the pupil, would be appropriate.

Related Problems

Does the foregoing mean that the teacher is not concerned with the children's oral language? No, it does not. Phonic analysis is only one part of a language arts program. It is important enough to require concentrated attention and should not be interrupted for other matters. Expansion of a black-English speaker's oral language skills should be part of a teacher's concern, of course, but learning to read and learning new speaking styles are difficult tasks for most children. In the early stages of reading, it seems unreasonable to require children to apply newly learned orthographic rules to speech patterns, too.

When, in the course of an oral reading of standard-English graphic patterns, a black-English speaking child produces analogous dialect forms, in effect, he is demonstrating bidialectal skill, and his language versatility should be appreciated. He has demonstrated that he has correctly recognized the graphic symbols and translated them into more familiar oral expressions. If, for example, a text presents *I have a new bike* and a child responds with *I got a new bike*, then we can assume that he recognized the pattern of letters *h-a-v-e* and the meaning of that combination of letters. If he had not, he might have produced *I hurry* or *I ride* or even *I home*. Since he simply recoded *have*, has he not achieved the purpose of reading instruction?

Should that child ever be informed that a more accurate speech response to *h-a-v-e* is /hæv/? Yes, but only when the correction does not interfere with the central purpose of the lesson and then with due appreciation for the reading ability which has been demonstrated. Experienced teachers know that all children need encouragement and support while they are learning new skills and that some children are more easily discouraged than others. Thus, when recodings occur, a teacher might or might not call a child's attention to them, depending on his judgment of the focus of the lesson and the needs of the child involved. This principle applies, of course, to all children, not only to black-English speakers.

If a teacher accepts oral responses which deviate from written symbols, will this create an atmosphere which encourages careless reading and which may lead to poor comprehension? There are no answers to this question from research. It has been this author's observation, however, that the teachers who tolerate minor deviations in oral reading are usually the same ones who are able to elicit creative and productive language work from children. Their pupils seem to make good progress in learning to read. As an example, one such teacher reported recently that her second-grade pupils who had been nonreaders in September were coping well with first-grade level material in December.

It has also been observed that many teachers of children who are not black-English speakers express surprise that minor variations between graphic patterns and oral readings should be considered important problems in any classroom. These teachers treat substitutions like *Daddy came home* for the graphic *Father came home* as a substitution in which the child perceived the sequence *F-a-t-h-e-r* accurately and produced an oral pattern consistent with his familiar oral language. They ask a child to reconsider his oral reading only if that procedure does not interfere with the forward movement of the lesson.

SUMMARY

Research on reading and oral language suggests that reading instruction should be modified in schools for speakers of black English. Auditory discrimination exercises should be developed in a sequence which takes into account the dialect's phonological system. Teachers should appreciate that children's oral black-English recodings of standard-English graphic material show not only reading skill but also bidialectal achievement. Reading instruction should not be disrupted by shift of focus to the teaching of oral language styles.

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PART FIVE

PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK ENGLISH AND READING

How do a linguist, a psychologist, a psycholinguist, and an educator view black dialects and their relationship to reading? Are there areas of agreement and/or disagreement when specialists from several disciplines discuss language and reading? Can language be studied apart from other aspects of culture? Have the crucial issues in the education of black children been identified?

A Cultural Model for Understanding Black Americans

Joan C. Baratz

When I accepted this opportunity to speak at New York University,* I was in the process of examining the relationship between the work I was doing and education. More importantly, I was becoming concerned with the issue of innovation and what my efforts involving the use of dialects in education had taught me about the process of educational innovation.

When Dr. Cullinan asked me to speak, however, she requested that I emphasize the issues surrounding black dialects. "Tell them about the fact that there are dialects," she said. "You know some people still won't accept that." I must confess that I found it incredible that people could walk around the streets of New York City and not recognize that there was such a thing as language variation in general and black dialects in particular (to say nothing of Yinglish and Spanglish).

I decided that the problem was really one of conceptualizing the data that were already at hand and not really the issue of whether or not there are dialects. That being the case, I concluded that there was considerable compatibility in talking about what Dr. Cullinan requested of me—dialects—and what I was concerned about—innovation—since the work in dialects represented an attempt at innovation through reconceptualizing the data that was at everybody's fingertips (or should we say "ear lobes").

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* Editor's Note: The papers appearing in this section are the edited transcripts of the proceedings of the Language and Reading Commission meeting, New York University, May 1972. Joan Baratz, a linguist, was the keynote speaker. Reactions to her statements follow her speech.

Although I am stressing dialect* and language here, I want to make it perfectly clear that language is a part of culture, and linguists have developed very sophisticated taxonomies for dealing with this aspect of culture; nonetheless, language is only one part of the culture, and I am also concerned with the more general issue of cultural difference and its place in schooling and education.**

All education and formal schooling systems are culturally based insofar as they are products of the cultures that initiate them. The question here is the relationship of the formal schooling of disadvantaged children to their home cultural education—the formal schooling versus the education that they are generally absorbed in.

The distinction between schooling and education that I wish to make was succinctly stated by Malinowski quite a while ago:

> I want to start from the axiom that education is something much wider and more comprehensive than schooling. By education I mean the integral process of transmission of culture. Schooling is that somewhat restricted part of it which is professionally given by teacher to pupil, by the professional educator to those who come under his tutelage in an organized institution of learning. (1943, p. 21)

As societies become more and more complex, there tends to be a division created between education and schooling, where an institution is developed for passing on some of the necessary information not usually taught at home. Historically, however, the formal institution for schooling is a product of the culture that generates it and, therefore, implicitly if not explicitly shares the values, attitudes, and expectations of the greater society of which the child is a member. Thus, in a homogeneous society, schooling is in many ways harmonious with, and an extension of, his education. In a heterogeneous society, on the other hand, if the schooling that was originally generated by one segment of the society is foisted onto other elements of that society, there may be a discontinuity between the expectations, attitudes, and values that are taught in the home culture and the ones that are implicit and explicit in the school culture, the school culture having been imposed onto the children from diverse backgrounds.

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* Editor's Note: Although Dr. Baratz uses the term "dialect" throughout her talk, this does not necessarily imply that there is only one dialect. It is at best a shorthand way to refer to a cluster of language features characteristically used by speakers of the many black dialects.

** Some of the thoughts expressed here can be found in a more elaborated form in a paper prepared for the Planning Division of the National Institute of Education (Baratz, 1971).

Such a situation, which is characteristic of American schooling today, leads to failure for the minority group child in that *from his educational perspective* the school perspective is wrong and at times senseless. The teacher's perspective, however, is usually acquired in the mainstream culture—in fact, part of the tutelage of teachers is to make them bearers and teachers of the mainstream culture. Indeed, from the teacher's point of view, the child's failure to recognize and be motivated by the school perspective may well be taken as evidence of some sort of obstinacy or pathology on the part of the child.

Let us look at the school system in terms of its match or mismatch with the perspective that the child has acquired from his home culture. The apparently successful assimilation of hundreds of European immigrants to the "American way of life" may merely reflect the fact that the educational perspectives of the cultures from which these groups came were relatively close to the American formal school system. These immigrant children were thus less disrupted by that school system than were other minority groups whose cultural roots were not European and who did not share as many of the European values.

Anthropologists have long recognized that every society has a distinct set of values, customs, child-rearing practices, and so on, which are the essence of its culture. Although these same anthropologists have recognized that there are many cultures in the United States, little has been done to take account of this fact in the schooling of children from diverse backgrounds. This failure has largely been due to the fact that anthropologists, along with everybody else, accepted (at least tacitly) the melting pot myth about America, and especially as regards its educational system.

The melting pot myth posits that America is a society where people from diverse cultures came together and created a unique American culture which is the product of, but distinct from, the cultures that contributed to it. American society, according to the melting pot analogy, is simply the result of blending the best elements of the diverse cultures, while eliminating the impurities or weaknesses of these same cultures.

As Baratz and Baratz have pointed out, the assumption of the melting pot myth made discussion of cultural distinctiveness, especially as regards blacks, a very controversial topic. And the dialects are only one aspect of this controversial topic.

> The melting pot myth not only assumed a distinct American culture derived from but not retaining various ethnic styles, but also presumed that the acculturation to the American way occurred by virtue of one's mere residence on American soil. That is, any second-generation American automatically acculturated into the mainstream of American society.
>
> From this perspective a very peculiar logic evolved which assumes that to speak of the retention of ethnic differences in behavior was to be un-American in so far as any discussion would contradict the American dream.
>
> In addition, it would indicate that the so-called impurities of one's distinct ethnic identity cannot be eliminated simply by living in America, the melting pot. (Baratz and Baratz, 1969)

It is important to consider that the melting pot analogy has two aspects to it. One is that it takes the best of the elements dumped in and makes a new, stronger substance, and the second is that it washes out the impurities or the weaknesses. From this analogy a faulty but nonetheless prevalent logic arose which postulated that (1) since America is indeed the melting pot, and (2) since the melting pot eliminates all cultural impurities, then (3) the residue of distinct ethnic behaviors that is retained over several generations of living in America must represent the genetic element of behavior. Since the Afro-American has been in this country since the early seventeenth century, this poor logic concludes that to say the Afro-American behaves differently from whites due to cultural retention of African patterns is comparable to calling him genetically inferior. It is this kind of unfounded conclusion, plus the discussions of the distinct behaviors, that leads to controversy.

Recently anthropologists have been re-examining this notion of the melting pot in the United States and rejecting it. When one recognizes the legitimacy of other cultures within a society and the need or desire of individuals for knowledge that is not traditional to their indigenous culture, it becomes clear that the process of educating culturally different peoples is dependent not so much on the culture of the "donor society" but on the interaction of that culture with the culture of the "receiver society."

I can't stress this enough, because I think every aspect of contact can create miscues and misreadings when two distinct cultures come together. In education, for example, this may include such micro-aspects as the posture of the teacher when she stands in front of the classroom, and even such macro-aspects as whether that kind of Socratic tradition of teacher lecturing with children in front of her is in the culture of the students to begin with.

Recently I was in a British-run classroom and the teacher didn't move. She was "jolly good," and she loved the children, but she virtually didn't move her body. She was almost a caricature of the English schoolmarm. It was clear she liked what she was doing; it was clear she enjoyed being there. But it was also clear that this kind of almost rigid body that didn't move at all was very alien to many of the children. They were not used to seeing a teacher who stood like that, who didn't touch, who didn't move. And they misread her behavior. The children didn't know that she loved them, they thought she was "cold." On the other hand, the children were also misread in terms of their culturally different interaction styles. I have had many a white middle-class teacher complain about the fact that her young black children approach her from the rear—"They're always coming up behind me." Now, it's not that she's afraid of being "jumped" by a first grader that makes her uncomfortable; rather, her discomfort arises from the fact that in her culture it is normal for interaction to be initiated from the front. Examples such as these are the kinds of things that I am talking about in terms of culture, not merely the one aspect of language form and function.

It is necessary, then, when creating school situations in culturally pluralistic societies, to build on the education that has gone on before the child enters the formal school setting. Or, if prior learnings are dysfunctional within the new social order, the new behaviors must be presented so that they are sensible and acceptable within the context of the home culture.

A culturally based educational system for minority group children in the United States (we, of course, already have one for the majority group children) would be an attempt to set up a school system to prepare the child for entry into the mainstream culture, while it accepts, appreciates, and uses his home culture to teach him the mainstream skills. The goal for such a school system would be to produce bicultural children.

Although we have been discussing the concept of a bicultural school system in the education and schooling of minority group children—and I wish to stress that that's my main point—I think that there are two places where educational innovation—specifically with regard to black language and black dialect, so essential to black culture—will raise controversy. One is the cultural model itself. The other, a much more specific focus, is the culture of the educational system.

I'm not going to spend time today discussing the culture of the educational system itself. On this topic I heartily recommend Sarason's book, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (1971). Nonetheless, I want to go on record as saying that this problem of change is, indeed, a part of the complexity of what we're dealing with, and any attempts at educational innovation must deal with it. Innovation dealing with cultural difference just makes the task of change doubly difficult.

The fact that education and schooling are related to the culture is so obvious as to seem almost meaningless. No one would argue that the education of an Eskimo Indian or a Yeshiva *brucha* is not related to the cultures from which they come. In addition, no one would argue that the setting up of formal schooling within the nations where Eskimos and Orthodox Jews live is not affected by political as well as cultural considerations.

Ideally, the political considerations should involve the establishment of the goals of the school system. Once these goals have been articulated—for example, that there should be universal education, that children should learn to read, and so on—then the cultural factors of the various religious sects and ethnic groups must be taken into consideration in the attempt to achieve the stated goals.

Anthropologists have been arguing for years that the home culture must be taken into consideration when a school culture is introduced in societies that have not had such formal institutions, or where the school culture has as its goal life styles radically different from those of the home culture. For example, UNESCO studies have over and over again documented the need for considering the vernacular culture when introducing educational systems that have as their goal the acculturation to a different national culture. Using the child's vernacular culture is certainly harmonious with educational theory. It's part of the axiom, "You start where the kid is." What is unique about the cultural model, as it is being discussed here, is that we are suggesting that the United States, heretofore defined as the melting pot *par excellence*, is a prime candidate for a school system that takes into account the retention of distinct cultural groups within its shores and recognizes the values of these diverse cultural ways.

That is really the essence—recognizing the value of these diverse cultures and the individuals who are carriers of them—because when I say, "Start where the kid is," the reaction tends to be, "Haven't we progressed beyond having to hear somebody say that?" But what does "where the kid is" mean? Are we starting with this "debilitated, non-human" individual and "uplifting him" into a reasonable human, by virtue of teaching him how to talk and act? Or are we prepared to recognize that he is indeed already a certifiable human being who has ways that are different from ours but that this is no less real behavior?

I am suggesting that the Afro-American culture is one of the diverse subcultures that should be considered in this discussion. The reasons that I am devoting my remarks here particularly to the Afro-American culture are (1) I've conducted considerable research in that area, (2) I've been asked to do that here, and (3) I think it's important to introduce the Afro-American into this cultural model because otherwise everybody buys the cultural model lock, stock, and barrel without including the Afro-American in it. If you look at the reason for this, you find that most other minority groups have a flag or religious orientation. The Indians, of course, have a culture that is indigenous to the United States. But the Afro-American is quite often left out. For example, Glazer and Moynihan, in the first edition of *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963), specifically said that the black man has no culture to protect and maintain. But we are coming to the realization that the Afro-American does have a culture. Even Glazer and Moynihan are beginning to understand this—in the latest edition of their book there is a lengthy footnote that moves them away from the no-culture position.

Today, however, Dr. Cullinan has asked me to focus on the issue of language as it relates to reading. I want it understood that I'm not talking only about language in a structural sense—an individual just doesn't produce sounds and syntax and have that exclusive of other things. The things he thinks about, the kinds of ways he expresses himself, whether he talks about talking, what talking means, who he talks to—all these affect learning.

You know, in some societies—since I'm in New York I will use as examples cultures of the middle- and lower-class Jews—the child is expected to perform among adults. The child is expected to have verbal interaction when anybody comes into the room. (You drag him out and he performs, right?) There are other cultures where kids really aren't expected to perform for adults. They're learning different things culturally about what they are, what they're supposed to do, and how they're supposed to behave in front of adults. These are the kinds of much larger issues that we are concerned about. In a sense they are micro and macro at the same time. The little, unnoticed things—like how close you stand to somebody when you talk to him—which are part of cultural education differ widely between different culture groups.

I remember the first time I was at a party in Washington. I was with an Italian correspondent, and I was sort of flattered, because I thought he was really interested in me—every time he talked he kept getting closer to me, and I kept backing away; soon he was practically on top of me. I was really concerned. Finally my husband came to my rescue. Then I saw him moving in on my husband in the same way, and my ego began to deflate. I realized that his distance for what was normal, social interaction was very different from ours. There is also the other extreme of talking across the street as a normal interaction distance. For example, it is not unusual to observe entire conversations carried on across practically the whole width of the quadrangle at Howard University. These are the kinds of things that children learn as part of their social education before they come to school. Such knowledge often results in a mismatch when the children come into the different culture represented by the school. If you learn, for example, that touching has a lot to do with interaction, you touch people all the time. Then you hear the teacher saying, "These kids just can't keep their hands to themselves." What does that mean? It means the teacher is interpreting a behavior very differently from the meaning that produces it. To compound the problem, the children read the teacher's admonishment of their behavior very differently. And we get this cycle of mismatch and rejection, leading to dropouts, truancies, and so forth.

I think I've made clear my expanded use of the term "language," and would like to return to the issue of language and dialect.

Linguists start with two assumptions that I want to underline. One of them is that *all individuals develop language*. We have never come across a society, no matter how ecologically or economically deprived, where there was no language. I want to stress that because a lot of people are running around now yelling vitamin B, C, or what have you—you eat right and somehow or other it will make huge differences.

You cannot explain language differences by the food you did or didn't eat. All societies have developed languages, even if there are differences among them. Granted that occasionally you have a child who has problems with language, but we have never found a group of people that didn't have language. In fact, that's what traditionally sets humans apart. Nobody else talks. (Chimps may sign, but we will leave the implication of that for another day.)

To say that a group of individuals is language-defective as a group is saying an enormous thing about them as human beings. I want this clearly understood: we have had evidence for hundreds of years that all groups develop language. The second thing that linguists have learned from extensive observation is that *language is a highly rule-governed, highly ordered system.* It is not a random behavior. This being the case, it is very difficult to understand how all of a sudden we are getting these peculiar statements about the verbal destitution of black and other minority group children.

It is perhaps understandable, if we look at the history of how this idea of verbal destitution got started and what was happening. The first thing we discover is that there were two groups with incompatible positions examining the question of language abilities of minority group children. One was the linguists and the other was the educational psychologists. Since the proposition that all groups develop language is so fundamental and the data so abundant, linguists and anthropologists couldn't conceive of a group of professionals saying that a whole subsection of the society was language-defective. For them, the issue of black dialect in this country was really a discussion about its history. *All of the linguists, whatever they wanted to say about black dialect in terms of its history or its significance, posited that there was such a thing as a dialect. None of them questioned this.* The major difficulty, to begin with, was whether—in terms of its history—the dialects were predominantly southern (that is, regional), or whether they had an ethnic source. The early dialectologists were trying to say that actually, if you looked at the history of Negro dialect, you really found it was Old English that had somehow or other moved in a slightly different way because of isolation and segregation. (These early dialectologists used the term "Negro dialect," by the way, giving it recognition as an entity.)

This was a common assumption until people like Stewart, Dillard, and Bailey questioned it and produced evidence to indicate that this is not the case. They outlined, and later substantiated to most linguists' satisfaction, a different historical perspective in terms of cultural contact and a continuity. Indeed, it is now documented that the dialect is probably the result of the overlay of an English vocabulary on African syntax structure. A pidgin was developed as a language for communication used by many Africans on the West Coast of Africa long before they came to the region now known as the United States. As the mother tongue of new generations, it developed into a creole language. Later in the United States, through many generations it became decreolized to the state of a dialect of English, though retaining traces of its African base. A great deal of the historical documentation is reviewed in a paper on the acculturative process by Stewart (1968) and in *Black English* by Dillard (1972).

While the linguists were engaged in controversy over the history of the dialect, the educational psychologists were testing children and finding out that on standardized tests black and other minority children showed up as nonstandard, that is they didn't reach the standardized norms.

A debate of sorts ensued on the value of the tests as measures of language in terms of its structure.* For example, differences in mean length of response may make no difference in terms of meaning. The child who says, "He is busy," and the one who says, "He busy," show a different mean length of response, but may very well not have said anything different. On the other hand, the child who says, "He be busy," and the child who says "He is busy," may very well have said two different things, yet the mean length of response is the same. These measures are really very inadequate for dealing with the language that was being produced. Over the years, the linguists studying black dialect have examined in some detail how those dialects differ from standard English dialects in terms of phonology, morphology, and syntax, and there is a good deal of literature developing now in terms of how they differ from other regional dialects as well.**

Let's look at what these language differences mean in terms of reading. Usually in education courses on language—at least they used to be that way when I went through as an undergraduate—they show you how the pronunciation of "Mary," "marry," and "merry" differ regionally, and they talk a little bit about different phonemes that occur in different parts of the country. But, as regards black dialect, the most important difference in terms of reading is not that there are more or fewer phonemes, per se, than in the standard dialect, but that the distribution is different, so you get different homophones. You say to the child, "Give me a word that rhymes with cold." He'll say, "bold," and you'll say, "That's good. Use it in a sentence." And he'll say, "I had a bowl of cereal for breakfast." And everybody gets hysterical because he doesn't understand the principle of rhyming.

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* For more detailed discussion of testing and cultural bias, see Baratz and Baratz, 1970, 1972.

** For bibliography, see Baratz, 1973.

In truth, he has understood—he's made a pair that rhymes in terms of his own phonological rules, if you listen to the way his language functions in terms of the distribution and then look at that in terms of the principle that you're trying to teach him. Rhyming is whether or not two words are virtually the same except for the first sound. So if he uses *col'* and *bowl* as a rhyme, then he's learned the concept of rhyming. You can do a lot of things with that. In the same way you can teach him that *psychology* is spelled *ps* even though it's one sound, you can teach him to read *cold* and *bold*. You can also give him a short course on dialectology. There are also morphological differences. For example, the possessive is "my mother coat" in black dialect, in contrast to "my mother's coat" in standard English. Sometimes the problem is to determine whether the child's performance represents a reading error or a language error or merely represents the dialect reading.

There are differences on the syntactic level as, for example, iterative *be*, in terms of the difference between "he busy," meaning "he's busy now," and "he be busy," meaning "he's busy all the time." The use of *been* as a tense marker is another example.* I remember walking with a principal into a class when she was showing me the school. She was horrified when she walked into the classroom to find that the teacher wasn't there. She mumbled about trying to evaluate what's going on in the classroom when no teacher was there, and she asked one of the children, "Where's the teacher?" The child replied, "Oh, she been gone." So the principal ran out into the hall to look for her. Well, anybody who knew anything about the dialect would have heard that the kid said, "She been gone," and if she "*been* gone" she's not going to be in the hall. "She *been* gone." She'd already left some time back and wasn't just around the corner.

We really don't know how often we get this kind of misunderstanding. Another time I was in a principal's office when the principal was trying to get a mother to come in for an appointment. The principal was telling a child to bring his mother at two o'clock, and the child said, "She be working." The principal said, "Well, okay, if that's so then bring her on Thursday, at eleven o'clock." It became very clear that the principal wasn't getting the point that "She be working" meant, "You're not going to get my mother to come to the classroom now, at this time, on any day because *she be working!*" The principal wasn't reading his meaning and probably figured the child was just obstinate.

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* For discussion of the syntax of black English see Dillard (1972) and Stewart (1968 and 1969).

The influence of dialect on education seems clear. First is the issue of what it means to have a distinct language system and to be told that that language system is no good. Just from the point of view of attitudes and motivation, it's perfectly clear that accepting the child's language in the process of educating him and teaching him other things is certainly a very positive step for the child's own sense of identity, his feeling of well-being, his feeling that it's worth trying to learn something that he doesn't know.

But also in terms of language per se, dialect is related to reading, at least in the initial stage of reading, since what you really want the child to understand is that reading is merely speech written down. If the concept isn't put across that reading is speech written down, then it's very hard to comprehend what reading is all about. There's been a great deal written about motivation, especially what motivates children to learn. I have really found it very difficult to accept that six year olds won't be motivated to do anything, if you present it to them so that they're interested in it and so that trying is not a threat to their identity and feeling of self-worth.

When you use the children's language, that's a huge positive motivational factor. In addition, you're not denying their culture (the denial or denigration of which is a definite negative factor). Look also at the importance of reading in the culture. We've all heard that reading isn't a big thing in the black culture of many of these children—no books in the house, and so on. Labov demonstrated this neatly when he compared two children on the street (Labov and Robins, 1969). One child was very literate, and his travelling buddy couldn't read at all, and they both thought they had equal competence in reading—the one that was illiterate assumed the other child was illiterate, and the child that was literate assumed his travelling buddy was literate, too. They never had occasion to find out otherwise because reading didn't play a part in that street culture.

Well, what does it mean when you give a child a book? When you were a first grader in the suburbs, your mommy told you four times, "Now you're going to read. You're going to be a big guy. You're going to be like mommy and daddy." She doesn't even have to tell you at all. Everybody knows. You open a book, and you read, and you know, "Now I'm a big guy." Right? That's half the "meaningfulness" of getting the books, even if there's not much that is meaningful on the page because so many of the primers are full of non-language ("run, Spot, run"). So if the middle-class children learn to read despite the "non-language" text, you might ask, "How can language be the issue?"

You must remember that for children brought up in the street culture, opening the book is not by definition meaningful. It does not mean, "Look. See, I'm a big boy, just like daddy." The only thing that's going to keep such children on the page is something on that page that's meaningful. They have got to see something that makes them want to find out what's there. Obviously things that are related to their culture are going to keep them on that page longer—things that are related to them in terms of language or of experience. And that's the advantage of using the dialect for this initial reading process. That is the point when the child needs to make the connection that reading is language written down.

There's another reason, too. If the child's language is different from what is on the printed page, you're asking him to do two things at once. You're asking him both to decode and to translate. And that's not pedagogically sound, is it? First teach him one thing, and then teach him the other.

One argument frequently raised against the use of dialect in primers is basically just a smokescreen. The argument proposed is that there are children who speak the dialect and who learn to read—therefore, the dialect is irrelevant. It is true that you can always find one or two children who came to school speaking only the dialect and who learned to read. And you can cite them, and not talk about *all the children that aren't learning to read.*

But the real resistance to using dialect texts comes in a kind of embarrassment about talking about dialect. Many teachers feel that it's sterotyping. They ask us, "Isn't that really Uncle Remus? Isn't that Amos and Andy?" There is an unwillingness to admit the cultural difference, to see the whole issue of the cultural model.

And so I'd like to address myself to that point, because I think that if we're going to talk about educational change, we have to understand this within the broad perspective. The cultural model is essential because if you look at most of the suggestions about "educational innovation"—performance contracting, community control, curriculum—they're really changes in service delivery and not basic changes in conceptualization about how we educate our children and what goes into that education.

It is clear that our current deficit theories have not proven fruitful in terms of helping children from minority groups to achieve in the public school system. In order to construct a new theoretical base, one that can provide functional cultural alternatives in education, it is necessary to consider the prevailing theoretical notions, what they've meant to education, and whether they are adequate or inadequate.

The old nature-nurture discussions in the psychological literature have provided two models to describe behavior, and I want to compare them briefly. The genetic model assumes that behavior is largely determined by basic genetic potential and only minimally affected by environment. The environmental model assumes that behavior is largely determined by one's early life and experience. The genetic model postulates that various groups of people have different genetic pools which determine the behavioral potential of the group. The environmental model, on the other hand, postulates that all groups of people have the same genetic potential with regard to all human behavior and that the environment determines to what extent different groups of people behave similarly.

The genetic model—which has few overt adherents in the education field—says in a sense that we have data which indicate blacks score differently from whites on IQ measures and achievement measures and that we have data which indicate that there is an important genetic element which contributes to intelligence. We have data which indicate that there are genetic differences between blacks and whites, that is, hair texture, skin color, and so on. Therefore, it says, we postulate that research will reveal genetic differences in potential between blacks and whites that will explain the differences observed in IQ, and so forth. Really what it's saying in terms of goals for education is that what's wrong with education is not what it's doing, but that somehow or other it has asked itself to do too much. What we have to change in education is the goal. I will say that I reject that entirely.

The environmental model, on the other hand, is one that most educators and psychologists do adhere to. Its rationale has been used doggedly for the past decade in setting educational policy and in creating intense interest in early childhood intervention programs. The rationale of the environmental model is again that we have data to indicate that blacks score lower than whites on IQ measures, achievement measures, and so on. We have data which indicate that severe deprivation during early childhood influences cognitive development. (I want to stress here that the studies which indicate that early childhood experience influences cognitive development were made on children in institutions, that is, in atypical environments.) We have data to indicate that most blacks are more deprived than whites. We therefore postulate that the deprivation of blacks explains their poor performance on IQ tests and other measures. Essentially, it says that if you only got rid of the deprivation, you'd find out that blacks are exactly like whites. And then you can expect *them* to be like *us*.

Although the genetic and environmental models differ in terms of explaining or dealing with the observed differences among groups of people, they are similar in essence. First, both are deficit models. They both begin with the underlying premise that the behavior observed represents a pathology. In other papers (Baratz and Baratz, 1970, 1972) we have observed that the description of the language of lower-class blacks written by a genetic racist is remarkably similar to the description of language skills of black children presented by interventionists such as Deutsch, Engelmann and Bereiter, and Klaus and Gray. Indeed, underlying both the genetic and the environmental models is the assumption that the behavior of blacks is improper, bad, or wrong.

Both models assume that there is a point in time at which behavior patterns and potentials become fixed; the adherents of the genetic model, of course, fix it a bit earlier than the adherents of the environmental model. But the latter have been pushing for intervention earlier and earlier, on the grounds that we have to do something before it's too late.

Neither model presents any coherence or structure to the behavior observed; it is simply described as deviant behavior. There is criticism of black child-rearing practices (that's where we get all these things about how we're going to teach mothers to be mothers, you know) without any recognition of the fact that different cultures have different concepts about what it is to be a mother, in every sense of the word. (My own response to that is, "If you can't teach the children, what makes you think you can teach the mothers?" especially if you postulate a very early critical period beyond which efforts at teaching are all but useless!)

Both models are normativistic. It's very clear that the test criteria postulate a right way to do things. *Language* isn't defined as a universal, *standard English* is given as the universal. (Talking to your child isn't defined as a universal, talking to your child *in a certain way* is given as the universal. And the education of your child is defined in terms of special agents which are somehow considered the universal way.)

Both models equate culture with environment—and I want to make this clear. When the proponents of the genetic model and the proponents of the environmentalist model discuss "cultural" factors, they are generally discussing socioeconomic factors such as poverty and associated hardships, that is, lack of effective social services, poor schools, high crime rates, poor health, and so on. Indeed, when culture, as regards distinct value systems, is discussed by the environmentalists, more often than not the view is tautological; the severe socioeconomic hardships of the minority groups produce a distinct life style that is pathological because it was born out of deviant living conditions.

Both models observe, measure, and describe the same behaviors and ascribe the cause of differences among groups on the basis of correlative data. In both the genetic and environmental models, the proof of the theory lies in the fact that the observed behavior, that is, the performance on tests, is significantly correlated to the variables characteristic of the model, whether it is socioeconomic status on the one hand or individuals from a similar genetic stock on the other.

Both models deny ethnicity. As regards blacks, neither model allows for legitimate Afro-American culture. Both assume that the Afro-American lost all of his distinctive African culture when he came to this country for a number of reasons, primary among them the deliberate procedures of slaveholders.

Let us look at the cultural model now as an alternative. We have data to indicate that blacks score lower than whites on IQ and other tests. We have data to indicate that IQ and other tests are measures of the mainstream achievement and, as such, are predictors for mainstream success. We have data to indicate that blacks in the United States constitute a distinct subculture which in many ways, including language and cognitive styles, is different from the mainstream culture. We therefore postulate that the differences between the cultural systems of the mainstream and of the Afro-American can account for the differences observed in test performance.

Americans tend to reject as illogical any rationale arising from a different culture. We deride it as infantile or less abstract or give it other labels because it doesn't conform to our own Aristotelian heritage. But the cultural model offers an alternative to the existing genetic or environmental models in that (1) it is relativistic and it assumes maximum complexity of all the parts, (2) it constitutes a structural description of human behavior, (3) it describes the phenomenon under study in terms of variance of behavioral universals rather than the universals themselves, that is, intelligence is not measured by the IQ tests but is defined by the members of the society in which one functions, (4) it does not equate technology with civilization—I can't underline that enough—and (5) it does not make assumptions that behavior is immutable at any time in the organism's development.

In spite of the fact that the environmental and genetic models are more similar than they are different, the social science community and society in general have found it very comfortable to enthusiastically accept the social pathology model while vehemently denying the legitimacy of discussions in the genetic model. One reason is that the social environment model fits into the American dream image (that anyone can make it and that we're all the same). It invokes an impression that all people are the same and it is merely the oppression of a group of people which causes them to interpret the behavior as different. Exploitation is not feared as a danger in the environmental model—that we should all love each other, strive for the equality which we inherently have—as it is in the genetic model.

The genetic model is disliked precisely because it contradicts the American dream. It declares some individuals inherently different and, therefore, forever inferior. It implies that not every American boy can dream of growing up and becoming president. It denies the Horatio Alger premise that if you work hard you can achieve anything. It says that the reason for lower achievement lies in the individual, while placing the responsibility on society to remedy injustices—a kind of "the sins of the father . . ." approach. For the theologically inclined it seems to contradict the teachings of Christ that we're all God's children, that we're created in His image—why should He create a defective man?

We can see the danger of such a model in the hands of an unscrupulous man. As opponents of the genetic theory have asked of the Shockleys, "How do you know that you will be on the committee that decides who's a candidate for eugenics? Who are you to decide what is valuable?"

The cultural model is often rejected for one of the same reasons as the genetic model, that is, the egalitarian notion is perverted to confuse sameness for equality. Some people consider it un-American to speak of differences because the mere existence of differences indicates to so many Americans a hierarchy where deviation from the mainstream marks inferiority. But this is exactly where the cultural model stands apart; everybody doesn't have to be the same to be equal, and everybody doesn't have to be the same to be valuable. Furthermore, the cultural model threatens the American national image of melting pot. However, it does provide a positive view of diversity in this country. Another important reason for resistance to the cultural model is that many of the behaviors discussed as cultural differences have been overgeneralized and stereotyped and are therefore categorically rejected as untrue.

As Hannerz, the social anthropologist, has suggested (1969), some people are afraid to discuss the cultural model because "they're concerned with the danger that a discussion in terms of culture might actually have negative implications, in that people might come to feel that poverty and diverse social ills are somehow built into ghetto black culture and therefore are the ghetto's own responsibility, not that of the outside American society." This argument, by the way, is quite often used against continued research on minority groups. Research is seen as a kind of espionage providing information that a brilliant but malevolent type might use to nefarious ends. It is precisely because of that fear that we must push through research and make explicit what the culture is, so that this cannot be the issue. After all, we already have a police system. And our police system doesn't rely on social scientists and educators for its information. It has its own well-developed sources.

The way we conceptualize what's going on in our society is the major issue, one that will affect future generations of educators and social scientists. We must break out of the prevalent inability to think in anything but ethnocentric terms, a practice which leads us to judge behavior as categorically right or wrong. This applies to our judgments of language behavior as much as to judgments of other social behaviors.

I usually conclude these talks, and then somebody comes up and pulls me aside and says, "Yes, I understand everything you say, I understand little children do have an organized language system. They do use a grammar. I really appreciate all that. But what about that four-letter word that they use?" or, "What about that four-syllable word that they use?" Nobody is ever able to come right out and say "fuck." Let's face it, "fuck" rhymes with "duck." And nobody gets excited about "duck." What constitutes a dirty word, or a dirty word used in an obscene manner, is just another example of culturally determined behavior.

Until we can recognize that individuals can use four-letter words (and four-syllable words) and not be untouchables, until we can accept the worth of individuals together with their language, we're not going to get very far in terms of making cultural innovation a reality in the school system.

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A Psychologist's Response

Martin Deutsch

I had planned a somewhat different response, based on materials that Dr. Baratz had prepared in the past, but I will try to fuse that response with some of the implications that I think exist in the talk we have just heard.

I would like first to quote a statement that Dr. Baratz made in a speech in 1971, as I think it is extremely relevant for some of the inferences that may be made from the materials that have been presented.

Discussing a previous research in the area and the tendency of the great bulk of the evidence not to substantiate the position that she assumes, she said, "It should be clear from the foregoing research, however, that there is still a crying need for adequate research on the question of dialect interference in the acquisition of reading skills."

Now, I couldn't agree more with this kind of statement because we have presented the need for a so-called educational strategy as having the first order of priority where there is really a minimal amount of research and data available that would support the position. Baratz continued, "Consequently the possibility that dialect readers might prove useful in the process of learning to read must be dealt with as an empirical question involving their effect on children who otherwise are not learning to read."

One must agree, I think, with that statement, and I feel it was quite divergent from the statement that we heard this morning. The earlier statement calls for an epistemological approach which is quite different from what Dr. Baratz calls for today, particular kinds of solutions as if the definitive data are already in existence.

She went on to state—and I think this is very important in terms of the controversy here, if two such polarized positions really exist—"Such statements cannot be accepted by educators as a final answer on the matter because the role of education is to inform others and to act itself in knowledge rather than to perpetuate and act on mere folk beliefs. Thus it is no less important for educators to stand up to black parents and spokesmen who say ignorant things about black language than it is to confront white parents and spokesmen who say ignorant things about black children."

I think there's a certain danger inherent in the imposition of a particular strategy that creates a linguistic apartheid, that reinforces some of the avenues that have been developed in historical periods, and that in essence cuts people off from avenues of meaningful negotiation with their total environment. The negotiations that they make with their total environment are largely something that they have to decide on as individuals. But, for something as overwhelming as a school system to come in with insufficient data and reinforce the encapsulation of individuals into isolated and alienated communities will make it increasingly difficult for any kind of meaningful vertical mobility to take place in American culture. So, if one is suggesting this kind of extremely radical approach, one needs to look very carefully at its consequences and its possible implications for learning.

In her comprehensive discussion of the various approaches that many individuals have had, including a past interpretation of mine, Susan Houston, a linguist, says the language of the disadvantaged child, "since it represents his culture and enrichment, should be left alone and not changed in any way." Now, I don't think there is too much disagreement with that in terms of theoretical principles. But there is a good deal of disagreement in terms of the imposition of what may be for some youngsters a foreign language within the setting of the school. Houston goes on to characterize proposals by Ferguson and others in the same spirit—as "a sentimental egalitarianism."

Now, it is plausible to state that the language of the disadvantaged child is useful to him, systematic, and regular, and that its rules of construction are not syntactically or semantically insufficient and are as good a basis of thinking and conceptualization as any other form of language. However, it does not follow that there are not other considerations which must be taken into account by educators.

In the first place, it is quite conceivable that the disadvantaged child may lack some of the experience he needs in order to succeed at school, at least in the earlier years of development, in terms of exposure to newspapers, salient mass media, and the like.

If this is found to be the case, then the so-called disadvantaged must be taught those items they do not know. However, this is a weighty "if." If, on the other hand, the target child comprehends such lexical items, even though he never uses them, this means in effect that he already knows them, in some sense, and must be given context in which to use them, along with encouragement to do so.

Baratz then, from a study of Jews in 1964, points out that school requires a new way of thinking for most children and is unrelated to any real situation encountered elsewhere. Thus a child will accept the necessity for stacking blocks and following other commands which seem silly to him simply because activities are designed which include these tasks. It may never occur to the child that there is such a thing as a geography of his home town or a rhetoric of persuasion within his circle of friends. And I think maybe this is one of the jobs that the school or any kind of educational format should undertake.

If it is found that the language of the disadvantaged child actually needs certain types of augmentation—the emphasis is on *augmentation*—which I presume would be in the area of the lexicon, this can be done through conversations. If such children are to be aware of language, this awareness can be achieved directly through language encouragement and language reinforcement. Probably what they need most is encouragement to use their non-school or natural language in the presence of adults, teachers, and others, since this register of language often turns out to possess all the features said to be lacking in the language of the disadvantaged child; in other words, the child needs the encouragement that comes from positive experiences with self-expression and utilization of verbal channels for environmental exploration.

Now, I bring that in because there are many different areas and pathways through which a child can be stimulated to be responsive. Generally speaking, within our school situation, we have such a closed, restricted format that most children find it extremely difficult to go into the area of inquiry. They need to be encouraged to ask questions, to delve into the nature of their environment, to engage in conversations where there is not a right or wrong response. The important thing is that response and engagement must be both possible and reinforced. But what so often happens is that children are approached in a totally linear manner and they are scored instantly in terms of the correctness or incorrectness of their responses.

Now, I would say that there are alternative strategies, and possibly alternative models, though I dislike the facile use of the term "models," because, essentially, when someone in the social or behavioral sciences has a model, he tends to have a closed-in system that needs to be regularly defended. We simply do not know enough about the varieties of human behavior to hold to one system as new information comes in. The total purpose of research is to assimilate new knowledge and to allow this assimilation to create a metamorphosis in our thinking and our approaches.

Now, while the theoretical basis may very well be modified, at the same time the schools do represent a very closed-in system. Generally speaking, they have not been successful in reaching youngsters where there is a minimal match between the responses they want and the way the children respond to the stimuli offered by the school.

And, of course, I feel that if we are to achieve greater sophistication about the pluralistic nature of our society and the advantages of it to our society, it is necessary that teachers not negatively reinforce or denigrate dialect English, or black English, but rather understand the meanings being expressed and respond to those meanings.

Also, I think that this problem has been exaggerated and that the problem tends to decline through the developmental years as youngsters are exposed to mass media, to large-range conversations, to multiple roles, and what have you. Most youngsters are capable of maintaining a bidialectal approach to the acquisition of language, the capability of communicating, and—most important and where there probably exist the fewest studies—the comprehension of knowledge.

Past studies on comprehension of knowledge have often been done in a great hurry with confounding cross-class and cross-ethnic variables, and without the necessary kind of preparation and the establishment of interpersonal relationships. In addition, some have been done with youngsters who have simply been turned off by the schools, not augmented by them, as in Houston's terms.

So I think the implications are more in terms of reorganizing the total educational system, seeing models in terms of the cultural diversities that characterize American life, and becoming aware of the extent to which individuals reject behaviors or communications or verbal actions that are divergent from what has become standardized within the dominant culture as contrasted with subcultures.

Nevertheless, to go out and tell parents, "This is the way it must be done," would create a social isolation that, if anything, one should be trying to demolish in the context of our culture. It tends to inhibit the total aspirations of young people and of their parents for them.

I also want to bring out the point that there is a certain amount of selectivity in perceptual processes. Just as teachers are often selective and may not get the real meaning of a communication, children also become quite selective. It becomes extremely difficult to do research, to understand the communication network, or to make the necessary generalizations.

I also would like to point out that it's generally agreed—whether we're dealing with Lenneberg, Chomsky, or other linguists—that cognitive performance is not necessarily, and has never been empirically, related to language competence. Or, to put it another way, the interrelationship of language competence and cognitive performance is somewhat amorphous, and it may very well be that they're quite different. This may be because we tend to attend—and this is extremely unfortunate—to our artificial measures of intellective functioning instead of to other measures which may be more important, such as creativity. One could well have seen a culture evolve that would have placed much greater emphasis on creativity regardless of the dialect system utilized.

Now, I wanted to make a remark about the social pathology model. Usually the pathology model is one that's directed to seeing the individual as being pathological rather than as the embodiment of the society or the culture. Here, too, one has to allow for a great deal of variation. Historically there has been a tendency—and Dr. Baratz is correct at least as far as Engelmann and Bereiter are concerned—to look upon the pathology model as being one that typifies the life of the individual. This is not so, and there are quite a few environmentalists who look much more closely at the environmental encounters that characterize the experiences of individuals and who feel the real pathology only exists within the social and cultural contexts and the experiences impinging on individuals.

I wanted to bring up the question of deficit and the nature of deficit because I think that some of the assumptions are simply incorrect and that there has been insufficient study. I have found my name utilized in this connection. The only time I have used "deficit" is in terms of *cumulative deficit* and not in the sense of capacity, or internal ability or capability, but rather in terms of what's happened in the school situation. And as a disadvantaged child goes from kindergarten through the third grade you do tend to get a class-biased cumulative deficit, which in urban areas tends to be more marked with black children who are non-middle class than with white children who are non-middle class.

One would expect this from the demography of social organization in this country. We do live in a discriminatory society. I think it is necessary for the social scientist activists to do everything possible to diminish social discrimination within the general rubric of a permissive society that allows a pluralistic evolution to take place.

A Psycholinguist's Response

Vivian Horner

When one accepts the role of discussant one always hopes that the main speaker will make many trivial points, thereby giving the discussant an opportunity to speak to the broader and more important issues. It seems, this morning, that our major speaker has copped my act by dealing, quite substantively, I think, with most of the major issues that I would have wished to raise. She has dealt with them, I think, in a thoughtful and substantive manner.

As discussant, I am relegated to commenting on some trivial details. I have worked carefully through my notes on Dr. Baratz's comments this morning and have managed to find one point to differ upon. I would like only to comment on the issue of dialect in the "learning-to-read" process. But first let me lay my groundwork.

I've been with Children's Television Workshop since August. At the time I began working with "The Electric Company," the curriculum for this year's viewing season was already largely determined, so I can't make any claims of much personal input into that. I think, though, that I am familiar enough with it by now to give you the rationale.

For those of you who are not familiar with "The Electric Company," which is a reading show, let me tell you briefly about it. Most of you are probably familiar with "Sesame Street," the younger brother of "The Electric Company." The format of the programs is similar. In both we use what we call a magazine format, something like "Laugh-In," that is, a series of short clips and sketches in relatively unrelated sequences. The program attempts to augment the teaching of what are believed to be basic beginning reading skills. We use a kind of "cafeteria" approach, which includes some phonics, some whole word presentations, some "word families," some sentence practice, and so forth. This diversity is dictated in part by the restraints of public broadcast television. That is to say that it is impractical and unrealistic to try to sequence from day to day, because the viewing or non-viewing is not under our control. Also, since we are not really attempting to teach children to read, but rather are trying to use the inexplicable magic of television to make print an interesting and more meaningful experience, we have chosen to use the kinds of things that are done in school as a jumping-off place.

The target audience which we have designated for ourselves is seven-, eight-, nine-, and ten-year-old children who are experiencing difficulty learning to read. Operationally, the target children are those second graders below national norms for their grade, and the third and fourth graders in the lower quarter, according to national norms.

In the process of researching the show, we spent a lot of time talking with experts from many areas, in linguistics, socio-linguistics, psycholinguistics, language arts, reading, and other language-related disciplines to find out what it might be possible to do, whether it made any sense to try and get television to do it, and, if so, how we might best go about it. We also asked what were the most important things to teach to kids who were having trouble learning to read and who were perhaps being turned off by something going on in the schools. At this point let me reiterate two points that Dr. Baratz made this morning. She said that in teaching children to read there are at least two factors of primary importance, and I wholeheartedly agree on both. The first is that the child must in some way come to understand that those squiggles on paper, whatever form they take, are speech written down. In order to become a fluent reader, this concept must be grasped. The second factor deals with motivation. This tends to be an area which most of us don't know much about, but we are all convinced it's terribly important. It certainly has something to do with understanding *why* anyone would engage in moving the eyeballs over strings of dry little marks on paper. I would like to express my absolute agreement that these are two of the most crucial factors in learning to read.

Now, to the trivial points I wanted to make. Dr. Baratz makes a logical jump, saying that if reading is speech written down, then what is written down is inherently more interesting if it is *my* speech. I would question this. It is possible that the first time he decodes a sentence, a black child reading "things just be's that way" may find it inherently more interesting than "run, Spot, run." But once that initial first crack at decoding is over with, probably neither one of those sentences is inherently terribly interesting. Reading doesn't really get to be a lot of fun until you know how to do it pretty well, and then, like anything else that you do pretty well, it's fun. For me the basic question is: How do you manage to teach the child—the black child, in this case—the fundamental mechanics that he must master in order to become a skilled reader without so boring him in the process that he can't remember why he is doing this? I don't yet know of any convincing evidence that reading materials in dialect are better at this than any other kind of materials.

As Dr. Baratz said, the questions which come up with regard to dialect readers are a rather trivial component of a much larger and more important social picture. I agree. Yet those of us who are teachers, and teachers of teachers, are still asking the question, "Should we use a dialect-reader approach or shouldn't we?"

On the basis of our present evidence, the answer seems to be, "Try it." If it works, use it. It's the same kind of answer that we've given to every other reading method that came along. What we know for sure is that most children learn to read if you try enough different approaches often enough and long enough. That's all we know for sure about teaching children to read.

To the best of my knowledge, no one has yet come up with an approach, with a technique, which is uniformly effective on all children in the hands of all teachers. What *is* effective is certain tools in the hands of certain teachers used with certain children.

The issues surrounding dialect readers become clouded, I think, because of our failure to distinguish between what we know in an academic sense—that is, the knowledge generated from linguistics and related disciplines—about dialect and about our social goals. Both Dr. Deutsch and Dr. Baratz commented extensively on this, and I don't feel that I have much to add, except to caution that before becoming embroiled in a controversy over the use of dialect readers, we should examine carefully why we should or shouldn't use them. And it is naive of us to imagine that policy decisions, decisions of social substance, are ever made on the basis of research findings. What happens is that we make up our minds about what we are going to do at a policy level, and then dig around amongst existing research to find those facts which justify the decision.

This does not, of course, describe the behavior of a researcher, by and large. It describes the behavior of the larger world outside the laboratory setting. Though there are probably some few individuals, perhaps even legislators, whose actions are determined by a constant source of input known as research, if social action awaited the final data coming in, then in fact we would never do anything.

As some of you know, I've spent some time over the last few years dealing with a somewhat different, but not unrelated problem, namely bilingualism. I am sometimes amused when I see the same controversies growing up in the area of bi-dialectalism. They seem to me to be the same issues, involving very much the same problems. The problems are much harder to deal with, however, because in fact we're not really talking about two languages which are absolutely distinct from one another. One can't draw a line between dialects and say, "This is clearly French, and this is clearly English," with a very, very thin overlap in the middle. Rather we're talking about two dialects—or six or twelve or twenty-two dialects—of what is clearly the English language, with a very large area of overlap in the middle. Which dialect has proprietary rights to a shared feature?

With that go all the problems of attitudes toward people who speak differently from the manner in which you do. It strikes me that the kind of work that has been done, particularly over the last five years, in the area of black dialect is extremely useful, not so that the way black children speak can be changed, but rather so that *teachers* can be changed. We must break down the barriers which exist between *these* speakers of other dialects and the black children.

I believe it is an extremely important part of teacher training to be familiar with and understand the structure of black dialect, just as I think it's important for a teacher to be familiar with the structure of the dialect of any children she teaches. It helps avoid misunderstanding.

But the fact that we have a very elaborate structural description of these dialects does not necessarily mean that we must now teach each dialect in a very explicit way to its speakers and build materials exclusively based upon the description. I would argue that the more important aspect of dialect with regard to materials is the motivational one. There is some very exciting content being written in dialect. But you still have to be a reader to get to it. Anything we can do to make print more inherently interesting, we should do. And anything we can do to give children more of an idea about why they should read, what there is in reading, we should do.

I would also argue that the important thing for a child to understand is not that this is *my* speech written down (though it is very important in writing), but rather that this is somebody talking to me. If I can manage to decipher aloud, following those little black squiggles on the paper, and say something, whether it sounds like what I say or whether it sounds like what somebody else says, then I'm still going to be very interested in reading, because that's the way that I listen to somebody who's not there.

An Educator's Response

Dorothy S. Strickland

There is some reward in being the last person on a program. By the time you get up to talk, everything that you had planned to say has already been said three or four times, so you can be very brief. We have heard, by this time, reactions from a psychologist and linguist and I would like to add a few comments as an educator.

First, I'd like to say that it is ironic that the work of someone who has devoted so much energy and time to one of the most critical problems of a particular group of people should be rejected most by that very group of people, and that the process of using dialect readers as a medium of instruction for reading has often been confused by the general community to mean that children would systematically be taught nonstandard dialect. Many, in fact, have expressed the view to me—and I'm talking about many black people in the community—that this is just another plot by the white man to retard the development of our children. I don't know. Sometimes, the older I get the more suspicious I get, too.

Even at a time when the feeling of black pride is stronger and more overt than ever, there are still many blacks who resist the idea that there is a nonstandard black dialect, or dialects. Ideas such as these, whether they be misunderstandings or simply blatant lies used to arouse the community, cause educators a great deal of concern. In a time when community involvement is a strong force in our schools, and when the need for good school-community relations is so critical, we would question the value of any educational program which would jeopardize positive community input.

Another one of our concerns is the fact that even though most educators have finally come to agree that there is a nonstandard dialect or nonstandard dialects, we know that within a given school community or classroom there may be great variation in language. We wonder what effect the introduction of what will essentially be, at least for some children, a third dialect will have on reading and language development for these children. That is, the child will have his own idiolect, and standard English will, of course, be introduced. In addition, a nonstandard dialect (which may be somewhat different from the child's idiolect) will be introduced through the readers.

Will such an approach in fact treat blacks as if they are all a single culture, with a single language? How do we account for individual differences here? As alternatives, educators would propose three basic avenues of approach. First of all, better and more extensive oral language programs would be proposed, beginning with the preschool level, with emphasis on helping youngsters in communicating more effectively in whatever language they have. Such programs would focus on language expansion toward standard English. But at no time would there be any attempt to subjugate one dialect to another, or replace one dialect with another.

A second approach would be—and these are approaches that would be taken together—better and more extensive preservice and inservice education of teachers. Hopefully this would change teacher attitudes about dialect differences and keep teachers from calling dialect speakers careless or lazy speakers, or attributing dialect to thick tongues or to lazy tongues and thick lips. Teachers need to understand that standard English is simply another dialect. It is not intrinsically better than any other dialect. This view *can* co-exist with the view that children should be offered the opportunity to acquire standard English.

Also teachers must be trained in—and everybody has said this before—the phonology and structure of various dialects, certainly of the dialect that's prevalent in the area in which they teach. And teachers must also be trained in basic techniques for teaching English as a second language.

A third approach would be greater use of the language experience approach to the teaching of reading. This particular approach makes the greatest use of the child's own language. Children actually learn to read their own speech written down. And, Dr. Horner, there is a difference between merely reading a type of speech that's similar to yours written down and actually reading your very own words. So there is a crucial difference.

It is important in the language experience approach that the child's language not be changed; it is accepted and it is worthy of being reproduced in print. This approach does take into consideration, then, the problem that Dr. Baratz mentioned—the child's having to decode and translate at the same time he learns.

I must add that however serious this problem really is, the problem of dialects and their effect on reading ability is still being debated quite a bit. More and more, my own feeling is that it is more the teacher's problem than the child's, and perhaps this is where we ought to focus our attention.

A Response to Martin Deutsch

Joan C. Baratz

My first comment is that I agree with the statement of mine that Dr. Deutsch quoted. There certainly is a need for much more research on this whole issue of dialect interference.

I do think that there is a maximal amount of research evidence to say that current practices in education, based on a deficit model, have to stop. Educators clearly haven't succeeded with applications of the social pathology research. Nonetheless, the practices and celebrated practitioners keep perpetuating themselves.

My second point concerns educational innovation. If I stand up here and say, "Black children, to a great extent, are not learning to read; their academic competencies are not what they should be; they're way below average," everybody shakes his head and says, "Yes, that's a shame, but that's true." Statements concerning poor performance of black children are not considered controversial any more. No administrator will get into trouble for making such statements at this time.

However, if an administrator starts to introduce procedures that have not been in continual use, he is then open to controversy. And an administrator's job, among other things, is to keep controversy at a minimum, or, better still, nonexistent. So we have to understand that aspect as part of what is happening concerning resistance to change.

Now one of the things that strike me as false about Dr. Deutsch's comments is his notion that the existence of the diverse language systems "creates linguistic apartheid." Recognizing diverse systems doesn't really create linguistic apartheid. Linguistic apartheid, if there is such a thing, is denying the validity of linguistic diversity and saying that it's bad, and thereby inferring that to be different is wrong, and to be different means necessarily to be separate. On the one hand, Dr. Deutsch talks about linguistic apartheid and social islands, and on the other hand he states that by the time the children are finished with the school system they are bidialectal (a statement for which he gives no evidence). I find the inconsistency difficult to understand, since, if all these kids are bidialectal, then what is the educational crisis we are all supposed to be concerned about?

Although Dr. Deutsch tries to cloud the issue of language competence, it seems as if he does not really believe in the integrity of the disadvantaged child's language as a whole, well-developed system. In a 1963 article, Dr. Deutsch says, "In observation of lower-class homes"—I assume these are both black and white—"it appears that speech sequences seem to be temporally very limited and poorly structured syntactically. It is thus not surprising to find that a major focus of deficit in the children's language development is syntactic organization and subject continuity."

Now if that isn't a description of deficit and of pathology in terms of language, I don't know what is. I assume from what was said today, and perhaps he will correct me, that he now disavows this quote, because he now says that on the linguistic end we can talk about structure, we can talk about everything.

Nonetheless he infers that there's a problem in the cognitive realm—thus postulating a linguistically highly developed but cognitively defective group of children!

What I'm trying to say is that the totality of the culture has to be understood, and it is all structure, and *it is all logical and cognitively developed.* It may not be logical in terms of your system, but that does not make it illogical. And that's a major point that I have been trying to make.

A last point—in terms of this whole question of people growing up. I wonder why we aren't running into these marvelously competent bidialectals. One way to avoid the embarrassing question of the dialect is to declare all black children naturally bidialectal. This is really an ingenious solution, since it can make them "culturally distinct" and at the same time "just like us." I heartily adhere to the educational goal of bidialectalism, but at present, despite the wishes of the Deutsches and Valentines and others, we do not have an entire society of competent bidialectals.

I had the opportunity to become involved with the SEEK (Search for Elevation, Education, and Knowledge) program and several other programs trying to help promising black students enter and stay in college. Now, I'm assuming that to a large extent these were students who had stayed in the system. Most of them weren't dropouts (although some of them indeed were). When I look at their performance on language tasks, I know the school system is not producing bidialectals now. I'm sorry, but I know it is not. And if those students are the ones we're looking at, how about all those we haven't even found with our special "upward, outward, onward, forward" programs? Those students who have already said, "F'get you!"

We can't sit around waiting for a pluralistic evolution to take place, because we are a pluralistic society now. It's not something that's going to take place; it's here. And the issue is recognizing it, dealing with it, and doing something within those terms.

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An Explanation

Martin Deutsch

I just wanted to briefly remark that 1963 was a long time ago, and these were data obtained from analysis of spontaneous speech of middle-class and lower-class black and white children. But, as I recall that research or some article related to it, the question that we were dealing with really was not verbal performance—because I think that there's generally a recognition of a differential in verbal performance—but rather the understanding that these youngsters could have general cognitive comprehension without necessarily having the kinds of verbal output that was traditionally associated with high scholastic performance.

But I think that this relates very closely to the lack of awareness that so often exists of the role of the tester or the role of the teacher. Here I would agree with Dr. Strickland: the role of the teacher is really fundamental if we are to deal with questions of motivation. And it's really motivation that in essence becomes the most substantive issue that we have to deal with. It is of primary importance to the discussion of dialect and the questions that arise there.

Of course, one has to be accepting of the dialect that an individual child comes in with, and also of the evolution from the dialect, as there is a general augmentation or facilitation of expression that comes about through the utilization of language in the environment of standard English. In other words, one must be cautious to avoid inhibiting the growth of standard English forms. It won't happen for all youngsters but seems to happen with most youngsters.

I do not feel that critical research studies have yet been done in this area permitting sweeping programmatic recommendations. I was trying to be extremely parsimonious in suggesting the utilization of strategies that are not as yet based on sufficient empirical evidence.

Also, with respect to pluralism, we do live in a society where there is a behavioral pluralism, but there is reluctance to explicitly acknowledge it and to develop an orientation of acceptance of differing life styles of various peoples in our society. In this context, one must consider the aspirations of parents. Their consciousness is in terms of standard English, and they have aspirations for their children commensurate with the attainment of the skilled occupations appropriate to a technological society.

It is insufficient for Dr. Baratz to state that parents must be reoriented: they have their own perceptions, realities, and aspirations, and these must be completely taken into consideration as primary factors. Is it fair for Dr. Baratz to present a plan of action to parents and not state that it derives from only one point of view which is not shared by a substantial number of the community of people involved in the problem?

One additional point of clarification: the language apartheid I referred to would come from the adoption of Dr. Baratz's proposals. I was not indicating it had any independent existence as she suggested.

The Use of Dialect Readers: A Dialogue*

Dorothy S. Strickland
William A. Stewart

THE ISSUE

The mismatch between the language of black nonstandard dialect speaking children and the language of instruction has been widely discussed as one important factor leading to reading retardation among these children. In an effort to reduce the mismatch between the native dialect of these children and the language of their reading materials, some linguists and educators have produced reading materials written in black English. In 1970, the Education Study Center, headed by Joan Baratz and William Stewart, produced such a set of readers with a companion set of "control" books with identical content and pictures written in standard English. The first book, *Ollie* (E.S.C., 1970, pp. 1-3), begins as follows in the two versions:

> Here go Ollie.
> Ollie have a big family.
> He have three sisters.
> A sister name Breda . . .
>
> This is Ollie.
> Ollie has a big family.
> He has three sisters.
> A sister named Brenda . . .

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* Editor's Note: The dialogue presented here between Dorothy Strickland and William Stewart occurred at the LARC Conference. Their conversation subsequently appeared in *The Reading Instruction Journal*, February–March 1973, and is included here by permission of the publisher.

THE DEBATE

Strickland

While agreeing with the premise that divergence between the language of the learner and the language of the school impedes the acquisition of reading skills, I must disagree with the use of nonstandard dialect materials as a solution to the problem. The following are my reasons:

1. Such a program must assume that there is one universal nonstandard dialect which all black disadvantaged children speak. In effect, it may impose upon some children another dialect with which to contend besides standard English, which they will inevitably meet.
2. Most black parents object to the use of such books as initial instructional materials for reading. Whether or not their objectives are based on misinformation is unimportant when one considers the potential erosion of school/community relations and the resultant disruption in the learning process which would follow.
3. The use of initial reading materials which are based on the individual child's own language would be a better alternative. Personal experience stories using the child's dictation as the content and the teacher as scribe can serve as an important tool for introducing reading.
4. Emphasis must be placed on better teaching training. The need for a better understanding of the nature of dialect differences and the implications for classroom instruction should become a basic component of every pre-service and in-service course in the teaching of language arts.

Stewart

In response to Strickland's first point, I would argue that, although there are indeed some black children who do not speak nonstandard Negro dialect (or black English, as it is sometimes called: see J. L. Dillard, *Black English*, New York: Random House, 1972) and others who are bidialectal—at least receptively—in both standard and nonstandard English, there still remains a pedagogically-significant segment of the black schoolchild population which functions comfortably *only* in terms of the nonstandard, at least at that period of their lives when they are confronted with the task of learning to read. It is for this group that experimentation with the use of written forms of black English has been urged by linguists (see Joan C. Baratz and Rober W. Shuy, editors, *Teaching Black Children to Read*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969). And although the first impression one gets when listening to the nonstandard speech of such children is that many different varieties of nonstandard dialect are involved, a more careful comparison of them reveals that they are structurally related to each other along a continuum from the pure creole Gullah or Geechee dialect, through the semi-decreolized "country" talk of rural blacks of the inland South, through further decreolized stages used in urban centers of the South, to the largely decreolized usage of inner-city blacks in the North.

Varieties of Black English

Reflecting in large part the historical development of black English, this continuum is to a certain extent recapitulated in the age-graded dialect variation within specific black communities. Once these varieties of black English are seen as forming a structural gradatum linking pure creole dialect at one end with standard English at the other, the utility of the pedagogical recognition of this gradatum for introducing the black-English speaker step-by-step to standard English should be obvious. And if the gradatum is actually incorporated into the curriculum, then any given variety of black English should "plug in" at some point along it. (The use of such a gradatum as a transitional device in beginning reading materials is discussed in my "On the Use of Negro Dialect in the Teaching of Reading" in the Baratz and Shuy volume.) Thus, linguistic variation within black English, far from being a barrier to its pedagogical use, is actually an aid to its use. In this respect, the black-English and standard-English versions of the dialect readers quoted above by Strickland represent the end points on such a continuum (for Washington, at least, while the black-English starting point of materials for the rural South would be even more deviant from standard English), with intermediate stages dealt with in the supplementary materials. (These readers, it should be pointed out, were merely the stimuli in a controlled experiment; ideally, intermediate stages should also be incorporated in actual materials designed to teach beginning reading to black-English speakers.)

Language Experience

Now, one could argue, as Strickland seems to in her third point, that the "language experience" technique would elicit the same kind of gradatum, without the necessity of the reading teacher or materials developer becoming an expert in the linguistic structure of the children's dialect(s).

But while the language experience technique has a certain amount of utility, it is no substitute for planned reading materials, since it involves the elicitation of pedagogically random utterances from the child, with no way to obtain sentence constructions that one might want at a particular point, or to avoid getting constructions that one might wish to avoid at that point. The same, of course, goes for sound-spelling patterns. This is why educators have traditionally designed reading materials for children, rather than merely using sentences which children may produce at any given moment. The irony is that, while the formal construction of beginning reading materials by the educator is accepted as a matter of course when the dialect is standard English, it is resisted when the potential dialect is black English.

Stereotyping

It is quite possible that a fear of "stereotyping" black children is responsible for this otherwise inconsistent stance. But, to the extent that the danger of stereotyping lies in its potential inaccuracy, one wonders how dialect readers based on linguistic studies of the real speech of real black children could be seriously stereotypic. Or, more to the point, one wonders why the use of standard English readers with children who spoke only black English was never challenged as stereotypic. In the same vein, I have often heard reservations about dialect readers expressed in terms of doubts that a particular dialect variety (say, the language of the nonstandard version of the Washington readers, quoted by Strickland) might not match *exactly* the speech of *every* black child. Yet I never recall having heard, nor do I hear now, similar reservations about the possibility that reading materials in standard English might not exactly (or even remotely) match the speech of *most* black children. Under the circumstances, it is difficult for me to avoid the conclusion that technical reservations of this type are mere rhetorical camouflage for resistance to the pedagogical use of black English which is essentially, if not completely, attitudinal in nature, and which is directed at the language itself, not its use.

Plea for Experimentation

This brings me to Strickland's second point, which I feel gets at the heart of the problem. To date, the pleas of linguists for experimentation with the use of nonstandard dialect in beginning reading instruction have met with speedy rejection by the educational community. The pattern of this rejection is that, while educators may at first express cautious interest in the proposition, most black adults react with intense and unreasoning hostility to the possibility when approval for it is sought amongst them. This happens even when the purpose of using black English in the classroom is carefully, clearly, and repeatedly indicated as that of ultimately improving black children's skill in reading and speaking standard English, as well as improving their self-concept with respect to their own way of speaking. Faced with this kind of reaction, and especially from this source, most educators quickly subordinate the long-term goal of improving the school-language skills of black children to the short-term one of keeping peace with black adults. (See, for example, the case history described in my "Current Issues in the Use of Negro Dialect in Beginning Reading Texts," *The Florida FL Reporter* Spring/Fall 1970.) Perhaps these educators assume, in all sincerity, that their resolution of the immediate political problem improves the chances of eventually resolving the endemic educational one. At least, I like to think that their motivation is this sincere. Yet, the two solutions may well be mutually exclusive. That is, the avoidance of controversy over the pedagogical use of black English seems, at this point, to require that the use of the language itself be avoided.

Political Positions

But if, as seems to be the case, the pedagogical use of black English is a *sine qua non* for the effective teaching of competitively adequate skills in the use of standard English to black children who speak only the nonstandard when they enter school, the impasse created by the educators' political response becomes obvious. One might argue, as Strickland does in her second point, that any insistence by educators on the use of black English reading materials would also create an impasse by disrupting the learning process. It is difficult for me to see, however, especially given the attitudinal and cultural autonomy of lower-class black children vis-a-vis their parents, how parental hostility to any particular teaching strategy could offset whatever in-school pedagogical advantages the teaching strategy might have.

Indeed, to the extent that the pedagogical use of black English demonstrates the school's recognition of the black child's peer-group culture, as opposed to his parental culture, the school might find itself in the ironic position of gaining black-child's support for its linguistic innovativeness at the very same time that it was arousing black-adult hostilities. Furthermore, if one insists that black-adult opposition to the pedagogical use of black English will disrupt the learning process *as a telling point*, one must also show that the converse is true—that is, that the black-adult acceptance of a curriculum *not* using black English enhances the learning process. Yet, there is overwhelming evidence that it does not, which is precisely why the use of black English in the curriculum has been considered at all.

Finally, on this matter, I would point out that educators have been able not only to continue the teaching process, but to actually improve it while arousing the ire of parents on such issues as integration, new math, and sex education. The crucial difference, of course, is that these in the main were *white* adults whose ire was being aroused. And while educators can antagonize white adults with moral impunity, they are liable to consider themselves racist (if white) or disloyal (if black) should they antagonize black adults. Here again, however, I will point out that what is presented as a pedagogical problem resolves, upon closer scrutiny, into a purely attitudinal one.

Educational Goals and Political Expediencies

And this brings me to Strickland's fourth and final point. While reinforcing her call for more and better teacher training, I would add the need to clarify in such training (for school administrators as well as teachers, I would hope) the distinction between educational goals and political expediencies. Sometimes they are the same, of course, and sometimes they support each other. But sometimes they clash; and when they do, the educator should be in a position to know exactly what he or she is going to get when an option is made.

RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS

How do the ideas presented in this text correspond with other positions on language and reading? What additional sources of information will a classroom teacher find useful? What are the specific features that characterize black English? How can a teacher who has a limited background in linguistics detect specific linguistic elements? Which features of black English is it important for a teacher to recognize?

Annotated Bibliography

Margaret Kocher

The following bibliography consists of 279 entries with numerous cross references among its 13 categories. It is designed for the classroom teacher, particularly the elementary teacher with a substantial proportion of black children, some of whom may have a background and a way of speaking distinctly different from their teacher's. Its aim is to provide landmarks in the literature bearing on problems arising from language differences. The list was developed during the years the compiler studied inner-city dialects in Washington, D.C., and New York City and worked with teachers at Adelphi University and Queens College.

The readings in this collection will familiarize teachers with studies that have been done on various speech and cultural patterns and their implications for education. The section on *Linguistic Description* focuses on specific differences between ways of speaking and writing that are considered "standard" and other language patterns. The section entitled *Background* deals with other cultural differences and the prerequisites to understanding the controversies involved in black English. Many articles discussing the theoretical and practical implications of language and cultural differences for education are included (or cross referenced) under *Philosophy of Education.* Articles listed in *Second Dialect* specifically consider the impact of standard English as a second dialect. The lists of *Bibliographies* and *Collections* can guide anyone interested in further study. Those who need help with the underlying linguistic assumptions should be able to find one or more of the *Basic Linguistic Texts.* Other headings serve specific areas of interest: *Development, Discourse Types, Reading, Teacher Preparation, Teacher Techniques,* and *Writing.*

Documents with an ED number are available through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. Ordering information can be found at the end of the bibliography.

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    Reversal of images in order "to appear to but not to" is a form of resistance to being maneuvered into communicating only through white language.

28. John, Vera "The Intellectual Development of Slum Children: Some Preliminary Findings" *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 33: 813–833, October 1963 (Reprinted in *Psychology of Language, Thought, and Instruction*, edited by John DeCecco. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967)
    By fifth grade, consistent class differences show up between children of the same subculture but of different socioeconomic status.

29. Johnson, Kenneth R. "Black Kinesics—Some Non-Verbal Communication Patterns in the Black Culture" *Florida FL Reporter* 9: 17–20, Spring/Fall 1971
    Describes differences in eye behavior, stance, walk, and group talk, with differences in message conveyed and possible origin.

30. Kernan, Claudia Mitchell *Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community* Berkeley: Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, 1971
    Discusses the status of black English for its speakers, the conflict between prestige and unifying functions of language, the importance of speech valuations for teachers.

31. Kernan, Claudia Mitchell "On the Status of Black English for Native Speakers: An Assessment of Attitudes and Values" *Functions of Language in the Classroom* edited by Courtney B. Cazden, Vera P. John, and Dell Hymes. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 195–210. ED 066 752
    Ability to speak good English is valued by blacks, but apt performance may outrank prescribed grammatical forms in evaluation of an individual's speech. Distinctiveness of black speech patterns may change from present stigmatized features.

32. Kohl, Herbert *36 Children* New York: New American Library, 1967
    Relates the experience of a teacher and the 36 Harlem children he taught in sixth grade—their disillusionment and the hypocrisy and rigidity of the educational establishment.

33. Lambert, W. E. "Psychological Aspects of Motivation in Language Learning" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 95–97, 169, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250
    Motivation of identification with culture of second language community may prove counter-productive for learning standard English as many blacks reject mainstream white culture.

34. Marckwardt, Albert H. "The Concept of Standard English" *The Discovery of English: The 1971 NCTE Distinguished Lectures.* Urbana,

Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1971, pp. 13–36. ED 059 198

Discusses history of usage and standards, what they consist of, and need for changes in attitudes of teachers, supervisors, and parents.

35. Putnam, George N., and Edna M. O'Hern "The Status Significance of an Isolated Urban Dialect" *Language* 21 (Part 2, Language Dissertation 53) 1955

Untrained listeners judged the social status of speakers of a Washington, D. C., dialect with very high (.80) correlation on basis of taped samples. Status marking of speech is important as a source of continuing discrimination.

36. Quay, L. C. "Language, Dialect, Reinforcement and the Intelligence-Test Performance of Negro Children" *Child Development* 42: 5–15, March 1971

Points out that no data support the argument that dialect readers should be used for teaching initial reading. Dialect version of Stanford-Binet did not result in any significant score differences.

37. Riessman, Frank *Helping the Disadvantaged Pupil Learn More Easily* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966

General guide for improving school atmosphere, capitalizing on hidden verbal ability. Glossary of black terms.

38. Shuy, Roger W., ed. *Discovering American Dialects* Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1968. ED 017 507

Articles describing speech differences, social correlations, and techniques for teaching standard English to dialect speakers.

39. Shuy, Roger W., ed. *Social Dialects and Language Learning* Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965. ED 003 402

A collection of articles on aspects of contrastive analysis, acquisition of standard English, and theoretical implications. See entries under William Labov, Lee Pederson, ad William Stewart.

40. Szwed, John F. *Black America* New York: Basic Books, 1970. ED 052 278

A collection of articles on differences in culture between blacks and whites in America. See entry 76, Roger Abrahams "Rapping and Clapping."

41. Tucker, G. Richard, and Wallace E. Lambert "White and Negro Listeners' Reactions to Various American-English Dialects" *Social Forces* 47: 463–468, 1969

Northern and southern Negro and white college students judging taped samples of speech from six dialect groups, including educated northern and southern, white and Negro, "network" and a peer group, showed a consistent relationship between favorable rating and perceived race.

42. Turner, Lorenzo "Problems Confronting the Investigator of Gullah" *Publications of the American Dialect Society* No. 9. University of Alabama Press, 1948 (Reprinted in 9 in this bibliography)

Lexical holdovers and structural similarities in sounds and intonation show relationship to African languages. But secrecy has kept many forms and names from white investigators, limiting completeness of their studies.

43. Williams, Clyde E. "On the Contribution of the Linguist to Institutionalized Racism" Paper given at the 44th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, San Francisco, 28 December 1969. ED 039 511

    Language deficit view of blacks' speech is based on faulty eliciting technique. Linguists who understand this and don't take lead in refuting deficit position are contributing to bias established in "experimental" situations precluding meaningful study.

44. Williamson, Juanita, and Virginia M. Burke, eds. *A Various Language* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971

    An anthology of articles from 75 years of dialect study in six parts, covering overview, historical basis, literary representation, regional descriptions, particular features, and urban dialects.

45. Wolfram, Walt "Sociolinguistic Premises and the Nature of Nonstandard Dialects" *The Speech Teacher* 19: 177–184, September 1970. ED 033 370

    All varieties of speech are systematic, orderly, and adequate for reasoning and communication, yet standard English is a prerequisite for success in the U. S. mainstream.

Bibliography

(See also 178)

46. Baker, Augusta, ed. *The Black Experience in Children's Books* New York: New York Public Library, 1971

    Annotated bibliography of books for children up to twelve years old, useful for school librarians and elementary teachers wanting to use black experience as content in their classrooms.

47. Bey, Krista M., comp. *A Selected Bibliography for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers of English* Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971 (BALA Program, LASAMED-5)

    Unannotated bibliography for black English with headings for linguistic analysis, attitudes, educational applications and implications, history, and culture.

48. Glancy, Barbara J. *Children's Interracial Fiction* Washington, D. C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1969. ED 037 509

    A very broad, annotated bibliography of books with blacks or racial problems as part of story. 328 books with index by themes.

49. Goodman, Yetta M., and Kenneth S. Goodman *Linguistics, Psycholinguistics, and the Teaching of Reading* Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1971. ED 071 060

    An annotated bibliography of approximately 175 entries, classified into twelve sections.

50. *An Interim Bibliography of Black English* Madison: Department of English, Programs in English Linguistics, University of Wisconsin, 1970

    A comprehensive listing through 1969, alphabetical by author (unclassified), without annotation.

51. Malkoc, Anna Maria, and A. Hood Roberts "Bidialectalism: A Special Report from CAL/ERIC" *Elementary English* 48: 125–136, January 1971

    A classified, annotated bibliography of materials on social dialects, particularly pertinent for teachers in the elementary grades.

52. Malkoc, Anna Maria, and A. Hood Roberts "Bidialectalism: A Special Report from CAL/ERIC" *English Journal* 60: 279, February 1971
    A classified, annotated bibliography of materials on social dialects particularly pertinent for teachers in secondary education.
53. "Multi-Ethnic Media: Selected Bibliographies" *School Libraries* 19: 49–57, Winter 1970 (Also "Supplement I" *School Libraries* 19: 44–47, Summer 1970, and "Supplement II" *School Libraries* 20: 42–48, Summer 1971)
    A listing of references on available materials for teaching about black literature and background as well as sources for further information and help for the teacher.
54. *A Selected Bibliography on Black Dialects for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers of English* Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970 (BALA Program LASAMED-3)
    An annotated bibliography for black English with headings for Dialects; Education of Black English Speakers; Language of the Negro Child; Teaching Reading; Social and Cultural Correlates; Culture and Aspirations.
55. Shuy, Roger W. "A Selective Bibliography on Social Dialects" *The Linguistic Reporter* 10: 1–5, June 1968. ED 018 800
    A classified, annotated listing of 46 entries focusing on aspects of theory and programming, research, and teaching applications.
56. Sterling, Dorothy "What's Black and White and Read All Over?" *English Journal* 58: 817–832, September 1969
    Twenty-seven out of 38 English textbooks examined (published after the 1954 Supreme Court decision) had nothing by or about Negroes. Others had little. Young people should understand black culture. Bibliography for a course on black cultures.
57. Tarone, Elaine *A Selected Annotated Bibliography on Social Dialects, for Teachers of Speech and English* Seattle: Speech Science Laboratories, University of Washington, 1970. ED 043 853
    An alphabetical (unclassified) listing of 169 entries, dealing more with high school and college teaching than with elementary education.
58. *Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Non-Standard Dialects* Washington, D. C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, 1970
    An 18-page mimeographed list of ERIC documents compiled from resumes appearing in *Research in Education* (RIE), with ED numbers, through June 1970.
59. Williams, Frederick, and Rita C. Naremore "An Annotated Bibliography of Journal Articles" *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme* edited by Frederick Williams and Rita C. Naremore. Chicago: Markham, 1970, pp. 417–456. ED 042 830
    An alphabetical, annotated list of 164 articles with a key indicating types of materials, ethnicity, population age, and linguistic description.
60. Zuck, Louis V., and Yetta M. Goodman, comps. *Social Class and Regional Dialects: Their Relationship to Reading* Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1971. ED 071 058
    Annotated bibliography classified by relation to reading of oral language, written language, classroom implications, second language learning.

Development

(See also 21, 38, 39, 89, 94, 97, 113, 160, 217)

61. Baratz, Joan C. "Language and Cognitive Assessment of Negro Children: Assumptions and Research Needs" *ASHA* 11: 87-91, March 1969. ED 022 157

    Negro child's language and cognitive level cannot be judged on basis of mainstream middle-class tests. Interference from cultural differences must be considered.

62. Baratz, Stephen S., and Joan C. Baratz "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism" *Harvard Educational Review* 40: 29–50, Winter 1970

    Reviews linguists' position that language of ghetto dwellers is different, in contrast to others' views of it as social pathology and genetic deficit.

63. Cazden, Courtney *Language in Early Childhood and Reading: A Review for 1969/70* Washington, D. C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, 1970. ED 043 867

    Social situation must be considered in evaluating speaker performance. Language skills are a complex of behaviors, and no conceptual basis underlies programs to improve them.

64. Cazden, Courtney "The Situation: A Neglected Source of Social Class Differences in Language Use" *Journal of Social Issues* 26: 35–60, 1970 (Reprinted in 160 in this bibliography)

    Examines research on effect of topic, task, and listeners on language. Finds deficit and difference models inadequate. Seeks means to examine communicative competence of children. Educators must set goals with community participation.

65. Cazden, Courtney, et al. "Language Development in Day-Care Programs" Chapter for State-of-the-Art paper, Office of Equal Opportunity, October 1970

    Little difference in language development of children before four years, but great difference from language of teachers. Assuming goal of cultural pluralism, child should learn own culture in own dialect at day-care center.

66. Garvey, Catherine, and Paul McFarlane "A Measure of Standard English Proficiency of Inner-City Children" *American Educational Research Journal* 7: 29–40, January 1970

    Shows that variation in standard English proficiency of low socioeconomic status fifth graders is due to dialect interference rather than difference in academic ability.

67. Goodman, Kenneth S. "The Language the Children Bring to School: How to Build on It" *The Grade Teacher* 86: 135–139, March 1969

    Everyone speaks a dialect. Build confidence in child's language, encourage stretching it to cover new and different situations. Let child form own associations between oral and written forms.

68. Houston, Susan H. "Competence and Performance in Child Black English" *Language Sciences* 12: 9–14, October 1970

    The systematic "home" language of black children is affected by school constraints to produce a very varied school register by nonapplication of rules from the home dialect.

69. Kochman, Thomas "Culture and Communication: Implications for Black English in the Classroom" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 89–91, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250

    Culture is the most efficient teacher, and oral communication is highly valued by blacks. Calls for language development in child's own dialect, with cultural permissiveness and respect.

70. Labov, William "Stages in the Acquisition of Standard English" *Social Dialects and Language Learning* edited by Roger W. Shuy. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965, pp. 77–103. ED 003 402

    Describes continuation of language learning beyond base acquired before six. Shows cultural isolation, structural interference, and conflicts in value system as obstacles to learning.

71. Menyuk, Paula *The Acquisition and Development of Language* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971

    Chapter on dialect variations reviews research findings and finds no consistent pattern in that dialect features develop at different ages according to race and socioeconomic level.

72. Peisach, Estelle C. "Children's Comprehension of Teacher and Peer Speech" *Child Development* 30: 467–480, June 1965

    Found socioeconomic level made a difference in understanding teacher's speech and children's speech. Also Negroes understood boys' speech better, whites understood girls' speech better.

73. Ramsey, Imogene "A Comparison of First Grade Negro Dialect Speakers' Comprehension of Standard English and Negro Dialect" *Elementary English* 49: 688–696, May 1972. ED 062 350

    Sex and reading-readiness scores correlated with differences in responses to literal questions on comprehension of stories, but the dialect in which the story was told made no difference, except in the number of interpretive statements used to retell the story.

Discourse Types

(See also 12, 21, 30, 40, 94, 140)

74. Abrahams, Roger D. *Deep Down in the Jungle* Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1967

    Sociological features of black culture, particularly differences in male-female relationships. Texts and analysis of jokes, toasts, "the dozens."

75. Abrahams, Roger D. "Playing the Dozens" *Journal of American Folklore* 75: 209–220, July-September 1968

    Discusses structure and function of this ritual insult form in adolescent black peer groups.

76. Abrahams, Roger D. "Rapping and Capping: Black Talk as Art" *Black America* edited by John F. Szwed. New York: Basic Books, 1970. ED 052 278

    In the street culture of American ghettos, "men of words" are judged by their oral performances on a very different basis from the white literary tradition.

77. Kochman, Thomas "'Rapping' in the Black Ghetto" *Trans-Action* 6: 26–34, February 1969
    The high value placed on verbal ability in the ghetto is manifested by many special discourse styles, such as rapping, shucking, and sounding, identified and compared here.

78. Major, Clarence *Dictionary of Afro-American Slang* New York: International Publishers, 1970. ED 051 353
    A lexicon of current idiomatic expressions.

79. Roberts, Hermese E. *The Third Ear: A Black Glossary* Chicago: English Language Institute of America, 1971
    A sixteen-page glossary of many terms current with black speakers.

Linguistic Description

(See also 4, 21, 30, 39, 44, 61, 68, 71, 124, 175, 198, 236, 246, 257, 259, 260)

80. Baratz, Joan C. "Ain't Ain't No Error" *Florida FL Reporter* 9: 39–40, Spring/Fall 1971
    Gives some features of black English. Asks acceptance for it as rule-governed language system of a community, not a diminished medium.

81. Burks, Ann T., and Polly D. Guilford "Wakulla County Oral Language Project" *Elementary English* 46: 606–611, May 1969
    Lists differences in features and variations in speech of rural, black Floridians and describes a training program for language arts teachers.

82. Davis, A. L. *Language Resource Information for Teachers of the Culturally Disadvantaged* 1969. ED 028 445
    Final report of several investigators includes: problem areas in grammar; checklist of features distinguishing social dialects; suprasegmental phonemes; transcriptions; historical, regional, and social variation.

83. Eisenberg, L., C. Berlin, A. Dill, and F. Sheldon "Class and Race Effects on the Intelligibility of Monosyllables" *Child Development* 39: 1077–1089, December 1968
    Research shows both whites and blacks understand white speech better than black speech, and educated speech better than uneducated speech.

84. Fasold, Ralph "Distinctive Language Characteristics of Black English" *Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects* edited by James E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 22. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University, 1969, pp. 233–238
    Discusses the three-way ambiguity of the form *be* representing future, conditional, and habitual action, and the use of *be* with adverbs.

85. Fasold, Ralph *Tense Marking in Black English: A Linguistic and Social Analysis* Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1972
    Describes verb forms of Washington, D. C., black English, with sociolinguistic analysis and an annex on noun plurals.

86. Fasold, Ralph, and Walt Wolfram "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect" *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City* edited by Ralph

Fasold and Roger W. Shuy. Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970, pp. 41–86. ED 037 720
Analysis of pronunciation and grammatical features of Negro dialect which distinguish it from other dialects as a cohesive system.

87. Hall, R. M. R., and Beatrice L. Hall "The 'Double' Negative: A Non-Problem" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 113–115, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250
Shows correspondence of negation rules between dialects and standard, and suggests sequence of items and drills for teaching negation on a transformational basis.

88. Key, Mary Ritchie "Some Linguistic and Stylistic Features of Child Black English" *Conference on Child Language* Ste. Foy, Quebec: Laval University Press, 1971, pp. 170–192. ED 060 931
Suggests that basic syllable form for black English is consonant-vowel, that it may be syllable timed. Notes wider paralinguistic effects in casual speech and rich metaphors.

89. Kypriotaki, Lyn "Black English and Child Language" Paper given at the Southeast Conference on Linguistics, Atlanta, Georgia, 4 November 1971
Though some features, such as absence of copula, possessive marker, plural marker, may be shared by child language and black English, they come from different sources.

90. Labov, William "Contraction, Deletion, and Inherent Variability of the English Copula" *Language* 45: 715–762, December 1969
Defines conditions where copula *be* may be absent and where it must be present in black English, and identifies factors that influence presence or absence.

91. Labov, William *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972
Summarizes Labov's analyses of the vernacular of black speakers, argues for the existence of a valid separate dialect of English, and explains the process of linguistic change in the context of the society.

92. Labov, William *Sociolinguistic Patterns* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972
Applies techniques from anthropology, psychology, and sociology to the study of variation in language in its social setting. For students with some background in linguistics.

93. Labov, William "Variation in Language" *The Learning of Language* edited by Carroll Reed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971, pp. 187–221. ED 056 036
Focuses on spacial, social, and temporal discontinuities in communication; stylistic and social stratification. Discusses maintenance of nonstandard varieties of speech for identification and because of subcultural differences.

94. Labov, William, Paul Cohen, Clarence Robins, and John Lewis *A Study of the Non-Standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City* Final Report, Cooperative Research Project No. 3288. New York: Columbia University, 1968. ED 028 423 and ED 028 424
These are dialects, not separate languages. Ghetto children have great verbal capacity, but different grammatical rules, causing con-

flict in learning standard English; differing value systems also cause conflict. Detailed discussion of linguistic differences in dialects.

95. Loban, Walter *The Language of Elementary School Children* Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1963. ED 001 875
    Describes the language differences and difficulties of Oakland children both with and without social dialects, followed from kindergarten through grade nine, measured on a scale of deviations per thousand words.

96. Loban, Walter *Problems in Oral English* Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966. ED 070 106
    Measures omissions, modifications, and repetitions by number of deviations from standard English per thousand spoken words in a longitudinal study of the language development of Oakland children, K to 9, both standard and dialect speakers.

97. Loflin, Marvin "A Note on the Deep Structure of Nonstandard English in Washington, D. C." *Glossa* 1: 26–32 (No. 1) 1967. ED 010 875
    An examination of invariant *be* in a black informant's speech, its various meanings, and possible difference in aspect from standard English.

98. Loman, Bengt *Conversations in a Negro American Dialect* Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1968. ED 013 455
    Transcriptions of the casual speech of eight informants to show intonation patterns, but with conventional spelling.

99. Luelsdorff, Philip A. "A Segmental Phonology of Black English" Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 1970
    Detailed analysis of the pronunciation features from a single black informant in Washington, D. C. Useful charts of consonants and clusters compared for black and standard English.

100. Luelsdorff, Philip A. "Some Principal Linguistic Features of Black English" Report No. 1. Madison: Department of English, Programs in English Linguistics, University of Wisconsin, 1969
    A listing of the main points of variation between standard English and black English, classified by grammar, morphology, and phonological differences.

101. McDavid, Raven I., and Virginia G. McDavid "The Relationship of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites" *American Speech* 26: 3–17, February 1951 (Reprinted in 9 in this bibliography)
    Many features of black English are also found in southern speech, but many words, especially in Gullah, trace from African languages.

102. Melmed, Paul *Black English Phonology: The Question of Reading Interference* Berkeley: Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, 1971. ED 063 613
    Research shows that pronunciation of standard forms in isolation has little relation to reading, and standard texts can be used without changing child's articulation. Recommendations for future research.

103. Pederson, Lee A. "Some Structural Differences in the Speech of Chicago Negroes" *Social Dialects and Language Learning* edited by Roger W. Shuy. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965, pp. 28–51

Contrasts several pronunciation features and verb forms for 20-year Chicago residents and recent arrivals to show responses by sex and socioeconomic level.

104. Politzer, Robert, and Diana E. Bartley *Standard English and Non-Standard Dialects: Elements of Syntax* Stanford, California: Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford University, 1969. ED 034 977

Descriptive material based on contrastive analysis, designed to make linguistic findings available to teachers of standard English as a second dialect.

105. Politzer, Robert, and Diana E. Bartley *Standard English and Nonstandard Dialects: Phonology and Morphology* Stanford, California: Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford University, 1969. ED 030 869

Descriptive material based on contrastive analysis, designed to make linguistic findings available to teachers of standard English as a second dialect.

106. Povich, Edna, and Joan C. Baratz "An Investigation of Syntax Development of Head Start Children: A Developmental Sentence Types Analysis" Paper given at the annual meeting of the American Speech and Hearing Association, Chicago, 1967

Analysis of elicited speech shows Negro Head Start children's language is as well-developed toward adult Negro norms as other kindergarten children's language is toward the adult norms for their communities.

107. Shuy, Roger W., Joan C. Baratz, and Walt Wolfram *Sociolinguistic Factors in Speech Identification* Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970

Employers judge employability on the basis of speech and rate nonstandard speakers below actual level of employment. Teenage nonstandard speakers can correlate acceptable speech, employability, and success.

108. Shuy, Roger W., Walt Wolfram, and William K. Riley *Linguistic Correlates of Social Stratification in Detroit Speech* Final Report of Cooperative Research Project 6-1347. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1967. ED 061 199

Linguistic differences were analyzed and rated against status of speakers. Teacher attitudes were found inadequate to the dialect problems of the schools. English profession must aim for biloquialism for students.

109. Smith, Riley B. "Interrelatedness of Certain Deviant Grammatical Structures in Negro Non-Standard Dialects" *Journal of English Linguistics* 3: 82–88, March 1969. ED 030 877

There is a high frequency of omission of relative pronouns in an east Texas Negro dialect, and pronoun apposition durability is linked to its ability to disambiguate sentences.

110. Stewart, William A. "Social Dialect" *Research Planning Conference on Language Development in Disadvantaged Children* New York: Yeshiva University, 1966, pp. 53–62. ED 027 346

States that deep structure of Negro dialect is different from standard English, particularly in copula and continuative aspect of *be*.

Lack of verbal skill attributed to black child is refuted by his copious talk with peers.

111. Stewart, William A. "Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of American Negro Dialects" *Florida FL Reporter* 5: 11 ff, Spring 1967. ED 012 435 (Reprinted in 9 in this bibliography)
    Gives evidence for development of Negro dialects from creolization of African and Caribbean pidgin. Shows dialect as a rule-governed system different from standard English.

112. Welty, Stella L. "Reading and Black English" *Language, Reading, and the Communication Process* edited by Carl Braun. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1971, pp. 71–79. ED 049 898
    Summarizes many features of black English and suggests change of emphasis to acceptance of variation and improved teaching of communication.

113. Williamson, Juanita V. "A Look at Black English" *Crisis* 78: 169–173, 185, August 1971
    No researcher deals with all 40 features claimed to distinguish "black" from "standard" English. Five phonological features, two word-order differences, two kinds of omissions, and a lexical choice are shown to be shared with southern speakers of both standard and nonstandard English.

114. Williamson, Juanita V. "A Phonological and Morphological Study of the Speech of the Negro in Memphis, Tennessee" *Publication of the American Dialect Society* 50: 1–54, November 1968. ED 039 512
    A linguistic summary of the phonemes and their distribution, and some of the morphemic features of the dialect with examples to illustrate each item.

115. Williamson, Juanita V. "Selected Features of Speech: Black and White" *A Various Language* edited by Juanita Williamson and Virginia M. Burke. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, pp. 496–507
    Compares absence of *be*, tense markers, use of *don't, ain't*, and *there* in written examples of black speech and southern white speech, to show that these are regional, not ethnic features.

116. Wolfram, Walt "Black-White Speech Differences Revisited" *Social and Educational Insights into Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects* Vol. 47 of *Viewpoints* Bulletin of the Indiana University School of Education, March 1971, pp. 27–50. ED 047 301 (Reprinted in 9 in this bibliography)
    Reviews controversy over existence of black English and gives distinctive features of dialect as evidence supporting it as a valid communication system.

117. Wolfram, Walt "Linguistic Correlates of Social Differences in the Negro Community" *Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects* edited by James E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 22. Washington D. C.: Georgetown University, 1969, pp. 249–257
    A study of four phonological and four grammatical features showed gradual variation along social lines for phonological features, but sharp stratification by socioeconomic level of features such as third person singular verb marker.

118. Wolfram, Walt *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech* Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969. ED 028 431
Reports the social setting, corpus, linguistic variables, quantitative methods, phonological and grammatical features analyzed in this study.

Philosophy of Education

(See also 4, 5, 7, 11, 19, 20, 31, 32, 45, 65, 80, 169, 172, 180, 196, 211, 212, 216, 225, 226, 227, 231, 232, 252)

119. Allen, Virginia "Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect" *Teachers College Record* 68: 355–370, February 1967 (Reprinted in 1 in this bibliography)
Standard English, the language of the educated leaders, is a second dialect for many. Second-language teaching techniques, focusing on distinctive features without derogation of home dialect, can help students achieve versatility in standard English.

120. Ashton-Warner, Sylvia *Teacher* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963
Develops reading through child's experience, capitalizes on excitement in Maori culture and home life for motivation.

121. Bailey, Beryl L. "Some Arguments against the Use of Dialect Readers in the Teaching of Initial Reading" *Florida FL Reporter* 8: 8, Spring/Fall 1970
Management of learning strategies in classroom is more important than foreign language techniques. Reading can be taught in any code in which learner has receptive competence.

122. Baratz, Joan C. "Educational Considerations for Teaching Standard English to Negro Children" *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City* edited by Ralph Fasold and Roger W. Shuy. Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970, pp. 20–40. ED 037 720
Argues, against other researchers, that dialect is different, not deficient. Ghetto teachers need special training to learn child's vernacular and respect his culture.

123. Bereiter, Carl, and Siegfried Engelmann *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966
Assumes deprived children have no language. To be sure their drills give complete background, they limit forms, strive for clear pronunciation, while teaching concepts rather than language skills.

124. Burling, Robbins *English in Black and White* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973
Reviews research on black English and discusses educational implications. Urges value of diversity, emphasis on reading without changing oral dialect habits until and unless student so chooses at high school level.

125. Cazden, Courtney "Review of Aarons et al., *Cultural-Linguistic Differences and American Education*" *Modern Language Journal* 55: 331–333, May 1971
Discusses whether standard English can and should be taught, structure versus function in language. Research on reading in nonstandard dialect is inadequate. Elimination of cultural bias is essential.

126. Corbin, Richard, and Muriel Crosby, eds. *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged* Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965. ED 036 506
    Displays the great differences in points of view between linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, and educators, at the French Lick Conference. Participants: Carl Bereiter, S. Tax, Walter Loban, Lee Pederson, S. A. Kirk.

127. Dillard, J. L. *Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States* New York: Random House, 1972
    A useful summary of background and positions on black English for teachers and administrators, drawn from many researchers and stressing the validity of culturally different communications systems.

128. Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. "Children's Sociolinguistic Competence and Dialect Diversity" *Early Childhood Education* 71st Yearbook of the National Society for Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972, pp. 123–160
    Reviews premises, orientation, research results, and research needed for more rational application of sociolinguistic findings in curriculum, teacher education, and educational institutions.

129. Fishman, Joshua A. "Bilingual and Bidialectal Education: An Attempt at a Joint Model for Policy Description" *Conference on Child Language* Ste. Foy, Quebec: Laval University Press, 1971, pp. 356–367. ED 060 931
    Discusses three policies for vernacular and standard language use in education and their consequences for the populations speaking the nonstandard.

130. Fishman, Joshua A., and Erika Lueders-Salmon "What Has the Sociology of Language to Say to the Teacher? On Teaching the Standard Variety to Speakers of Dialectal or Sociolectal Varieties" *Functions of Language in the Classroom* edited by Courtney B. Cazden, Vera P. John, and Dell Hymes. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 67–83. ED 066 752
    Black children should continue to be taught standard English because increasing the discontinuity between black and standard English would probably increase the social distance.

131. Fryburg, Estelle L. "The Relations among English Syntax, Methods of Instruction, and Reading Achievement of First Grade Disadvantaged Black Children" Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1971
    Control of oral standard English correlates with higher reading achievement at the end of first grade without significant differences according to use of basal reader or language experience methods of teaching.

132. Goodman, Kenneth S. "Dialect Barriers to Reading Comprehension" *Elementary English* 42: 853–860, December 1965 (Reprinted in 167 in this bibliography)
    Goal of expansion of child's language experience to include standard English is achievable through teaching reading with standard material but allowing children to speak dialect.

133. Hoffman, Melvin J. "The Harmful Effects of Traditional Language

Arts Teaching Methods When Used with Disadvantaged Afro-American Children" *Elementary English* 47: 678–683, May 1970

Conventional teaching methods perpetuate false myths about language. Masking of many problems and differences in modes of language use defeat well-intentioned efforts to provide alternative speech styles.

134. Holt, Grace Sims "Changing Frames of Reference in Speech Communication Education for Black Students" *Florida FL Reporter* 9: 21, 22, 52, Spring/Fall 1971

Education disrupts black's culture. Thematic activities on discrimination can provide a black frame of reference for acculturation without assimilation.

135. Horner, Vivian M. "Misconceptions Concerning Language in the Disadvantaged" *Supplement to IRCD Bulletin* 2, Summer 1966

Discusses the difference-deficiency controversy regarding models of nonstandard language, and the prevalency of the Miss Fidditch (prescriptive) syndrome among language arts teachers.

136. Horner, Vivian M., and Joan D. Gussow "John and Mary: A Pilot Study in Linguistic Ecology" *Functions of Language in the Classroom* edited by Courtney B. Cazden, Vera P. John, and Dell Hymes. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 155–194. ED 066 752

Gives evidence on the functioning of verbal skills and the communicative network of two lower-class black children; suggests need for more such knowledge before verbal intervention programs are established.

137. Johnson, Norman "About This Thing Called Ghetto Education" *Black America* edited by John J. Szwed. New York: Basic Books, 1970. ED 052 278

Black is a distinct subculture, survival oriented. A change in social outlook is needed to avoid unicultural belief and to provide some common output from heterogeneous input to schools.

138. Kagan, Jerome "IQ: Fair Science for Dark Deeds" *Radcliffe Quarterly* March 1972, pp. 3–5

Discusses Jensen's hypothesis of inheritance of intelligence. IQ testing based on standard English shows child's ability in standard English and mainstream culture rather than how smart he is.

139. Kochman, Thomas "Black American Speech Events and a Language Program for the Classroom" *Functions of Language in the Classroom* edited by Courtney B. Cazden, Vera P. John, and Dell Hymes. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 211–261. ED 066 752

Examines and gives examples of discourse types, such as signifying and copping a plea. Points to the need for acceptance of the child's speech and use of the child's considerable verbal skill in any viable classroom program.

140. Kochman, Thomas "Reading, Culture, and Personality" *Florida FL Reporter* 8: 24–26, 49, Spring/Fall 1970

Points to difficulty of adjustments between literate culture, which builds on technology, and oral tradition, where confrontation and personal values are paramount.

141. Labov, William "The Logic of Nonstandard English" *Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or*

Dialects edited by James E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 22. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University, 1969, pp. 249–257 (Reprinted in 1 and 156 in this bibliography)

Refutes Bernstein, Bereiter and Engelmann, and Jensen for their deficit theories; cites situational bias, linguistic theory, and evidence; analyzes a nonstandard sample for its logic.

142. Labov, William "The Nonstandard Vernacular of the Negro Community: Some Practical Suggestions" *Position Papers from Language Education for the Disadvantaged* Philadelphia: Temple University, 1968, pp. 4–7. ED 036 563

Teachers should be aware of limitations of stereotypes, avoid polarization of middle- and working-class values, capitalize on respect for verbal skill to influence social situations.

143. MacNamara, John "The Cognitive Strategies of Language Learning" *Conference on Child Language* Ste. Foy, Quebec: Laval University Press, 1971. ED 060 931

We still don't know how learning a second language differs from first language learning. Noncommunication on the street is punished, but there is insufficient motivation in the classroom.

144. Malmstrom, Jean "Dialects—Updated" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 47–49, 169, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250

Defines dialects, outlines principal geographical dialects of U.S., points out lack of social distinction in studies before 1965. Urges incorporation of recent sociolinguistic studies in teacher training.

145. Mantell, Arlene L. "An Assessment of Two Curriculum Strategies for Increasing Bidialectal Proficiency of Speakers of Non-Standard Dialect in the Fifth Grade in the New York Metropolitan Area" Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1971

Making teachers and students aware of differences between standard and nonstandard dialects improved ability to choose language appropriate to situation, regardless of nonstandard structure in speaker's language system.

146. Mellan, Olivia "Why Try to Eradicate It?" *New Republic* 28 November 1970, pp. 15–17

A nontechnical survey of positions on black dialects, urging experimentation with drills in two dialects for all children to foster greater bidialectalism and mutual respect.

147. Modiano, Nancy "Where Are the Children?" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 93, 94, 170, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250

Respect for child's language and culture enhances self-image, improves achievement in subjects and second-language learning. Teachers must be aware of perception differences in home culture.

148. O'Neil, Wayne "Politics of Bidialectalism" *College English* 33: 433–436, January 1972

The promotion of bidialectalism allows a crumb to blacks within the system, but educational reform will not achieve social justice without a reduction in power of government institutions.

149. Ortego, Philip D. *The Linguistic Imperative in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages* Washington, D. C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, 1970. ED 038 626
   In a linguistic frame of reference, analyzes goals, methods, strategies, cultural differentials, and teacher preparation, and provides some techniques useful for second-dialect teaching.

150. Postman, Neil, and Charles Weingartner *Linguistics: A Revolution in Teaching* New York: Delacorte Press, 1966
   Discusses assumptions of linguistics, function of language arts teachers, and gives many good ideas for classroom activities and techniques.

151. Roberts, Hermese E. "Don't Teach Them to Read" *Elementary English* 47: 638–640, May 1970
   Urgent plea to start reading earlier, using child's own variety of language for reading, and not delay for acquisition of spoken standard. Later relate usefulness of other dialects for reading, writing, employment, and so on.

152. Shuy, Roger W. "Bonnie and Clyde Tactics in English Teaching" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 81–83, 160, 161, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250
   Elimination of dialect is not acceptable, and biloquialism further burdens the disadvantaged. Teachers should provide useful alternatives, use timely techniques, and guard against bias in themselves.

153. Shuy, Roger W. "Social Dialects: Teaching vs. Learning" *Florida FL Reporter* 9: 28–33, Spring/Fall 1971
   Assumptions underlying materials for teaching standard English as a second dialect have not been proven. There is no guarantee that learning is actually taking place.

154. Shuy, Roger W. "Sociolinguistic Strategies for Studying Urban Speech" *Social and Educational Insights into Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects* Vol. 47 of *Viewpoints* Bulletin of the Indiana University School of Education, March 1971, pp. 1–25. ED 047 301
   Teacher training should include classroom work early in the course, and work on the nature of language, language variation, field work in the language of children, and teaching standard English as a second dialect.

155. Shuy, Roger W. "The Sociolinguists and Urban Language Problems" *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme* edited by Frederick Williams. Chicago: Markham, 1970, pp. 335–350. ED 042 830
   Describes factors contributing to different social dialects. Teachers should help students understand acceptability and choose forms appropriate to various situations.

156. Shuy, Roger W. "Some Problems in Studying Negro/White Speech Differences" *English Record* 21: 179–185, April 1971. ED 054 145
   Discusses research design, incomplete knowledge, misinterpretation of facts, unfulfilled promises of research, and the relation of researcher and researched in the study of speech differences.

157. Sledd, James "Bidialectalism: The Linguistics of White Supremacy" *English Journal* 58: 1307–1315, September 1969

Children should learn that bidialectalism is a result of the white majority exploiting the minority and that there are good and bad uses of speech differences. Teachers should concentrate on teaching children to read.

158. Sledd, James "Doublespeak: Dialectology in the Service of Big Brother" *College English* 33: 439–456, January 1972
Bidialectalism promises beneficent change without threat to existing power structure. Learning to read has little relation to ability to produce oral standard English. Teachers should develop values and end the social isolation of nonstandard speakers.

159. Stewart, William A. "Urban Negro Speech: Sociolinguistic Factors Affecting English Teaching" *Social Dialects and Language Learning* edited by Roger W. Shuy. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965, pp. 10–17. ED 003 402 (Reprinted in 1 in this bibliography)
The complexity of the urban dialect situation, due to extensive immigration of blacks from the south, mostly of low socioeconomic status, calls for contrastive analysis and new teaching techniques to deal with dialect interference.

160. Williams, Frederick, ed. *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme* Chicago: Markham, 1970. ED 042 830
New strategies for language instruction are needed, incorporating research on interrelation of language differences with different social structures, to move toward the goal of control of standard English for all children in the U.S.

161. Wolfram, Walt "Sociolinguistic Alternatives in Teaching Reading to Nonstandard Speakers" *Reading Research Quarterly* 6: 9–33, Fall 1970 (Reprinted in *Florida FL Reporter* 8: 16–23, Spring/Fall 1970)
Reviews discussion on use of dialect materials for teaching beginning reading; suggests that this strategy should be carefully tested in the light of Swedish success with teaching reading in the vernacular.

162. Wolfram, Walt "Who's to Say: Controversies over What Linguists Can and Cannot Say about Non-Standard Dialects" *A World Without Walls* Proceedings of the Seventh Southern Conference on Language Teaching, 1971
Linguists agree that all languages and dialects are adequate as communications systems for their speakers, show great organization, are acquired at approximately the same rate, and that standardized tests show standard English proficiency, not native language ability. Educators and the public must learn to respect nonstandard dialect.

Reading

(See also 5, 7, 36, 49, 60, 63, 67, 102, 112, 124, 131, 151, 158, 235, 246, 260, 261, 262)

163. Ames, Wilbur S., Carl L. Rosen, and Arthur V. Olsen "The Effects of Nonstandard Dialect on the Oral Reading Behavior of Fourth Grade Black Children" *Language, Reading, and the Communication Process* edited by Carl Braun. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1971, pp. 63–70. ED 049 898

Used reading of Baratz's test sentences to analyze interference. Found four features showed no dialect-based interference; four were read in nonstandard forms.

164. Baratz, Joan C. "Linguistic and Cultural Factors in Teaching Reading to Ghetto Children" *Elementary English* 46: 199–203, February 1969
Language interference plays an overwhelming role in reading failure. Urges initial readers in dialect matching child's with transition readers to standard English.

165. Baratz, Joan C. "A Review of Research on the Relationship of Black English to Reading" Paper given at Annual Meeting of the International Reading Association, Atlantic City, New Jersey, April 1971
Discusses research findings to date by Shuy, Wolfram, Fasold, Goodman, Weber, Rystrom, Melmed, Leaverton, Baratz, and Stewart. Urges testing of teaching oral standard before reading, and use of dialect in teaching initial reading.

166. Baratz, Joan C. "Teaching Reading in an Urban Negro School System" *Teaching Black Children to Read* edited by Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy. Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969. ED 025 761 (Reprinted in 160 in this bibliography)
Ghetto children should be taught to read in their own dialect, and later shifted to standard English. This should increase success in teaching reading, self-confidence, and the opportunity to master standard English.

167. Baratz, Joan C., and Roger W. Shuy, eds. *Teaching Black Children to Read* Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969. ED 025 761
Initial reading materials for dialect speakers must correspond to children's normal speech and be in context of the child's experience. Papers by Baratz, Fasold, Goodman, Labov, McDavid, Shuy, Stewart, and Wolfram.

168. Burling, Robbins "Standard Colloquial and Standard Written English: Some Implications for Teaching Literacy to Nonstandard Speakers" *Florida FL Reporter* 8: 9–15, Spring/Fall 1970
Written language is not the same as spoken for either standard or dialect speaker. Literacy is more important than speaking prestige dialect, which may not be achieved through limited classroom hours.

169. Goodman, Kenneth S. "Dialect Rejection and Reading: A Response" *Reading Research Quarterly* 5: 600–603, Summer 1970
Teachers should accept and build on language competence of all learners. Written English is constant across dialects.

170. Goodman, Kenneth S. "Reading: A Psycholinguistic Guessing Game" *Journal of the Reading Specialist* 4: 26–135, May 1967 (Reprinted in 7 in this bibliography)
The "common sense" view of reading as sequential identification of words cannot account for rapid reading skills. A complex model is proposed based on studies of what a reader actually does.

171. Goodman, Kenneth S., and Catherine Buck "Dialect Barriers to Reading Comprehension Revisited" *The Reading Teacher* 27: 6–12, October 1973
Reverses Goodman's 1965 position on the bases of more recent findings on oral reading miscues. Says solution to reading problems of

divergent speakers lies in changing the attitudes of teachers toward the language of the learners.

172. Horn, Thomas D., ed. *Reading for the Disadvantaged: Problems of Linguistically Different Learners* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970. ED 044 259

Focuses on teachers' needs for greater knowledge of black culture, linguistic structure, attitudes, and the teaching of unconventional material.

173. Hutchinson, June O'Shields "Reading Tests and Nonstandard Language" *The Reading Teacher* 25: 430–437, February 1972

Analysis of Metropolitan Achievement Tests and predicted and unpredicted errors shows that test does judge black children by inappropriate standards. Better testing tools are needed.

174. Jaggar, Angela "The Effect of Native Dialect and Written Language Structure on Reading Comprehension in Negro and White Elementary School Children" Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1971

In controlled conditions, third-grade black children comprehend and produce many standard structures not produced in spontaneous expression. Materials, in dialect, if used at all, should be only for initial reading.

175. Labov, William "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Nonstandard English" *New Directions in Elementary English* edited by Alexander Frazier. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967, pp. 140–167. ED 033 098

Teachers should recognize the rules and system of black English, aim for children's understanding of meaning of forms and markers rather than prestige pronunciation. Gives priority of tasks.

176. Labov, William, and Clarence Robins "A Note on the Relation of Reading Failure to Peer-Group Status in Urban Ghettos" *Teachers College Record* 70: 395–405, February 1969 (Reprinted in 1 and 7 in this bibliography)

Peer-group membership in street culture puts value on toughness, smartness, excitement, but not on school success, which results in turning many adolescents away from reading.

177. Levy, Beatrice K. "A Comparison of Selected Oral Language Features of Inner City First Grade Children and the Language of Beginning Reading Instructional Materials" Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1972

Correlation between language of children and primers is low. There is mismatch between structures and distribution of structures, with children using more complex syntax than primers.

178. Marquardt, William F. "Creating Empathy through Literature between the Members of the Mainstream Culture and the Disadvantaged Learners of the Minority Culture" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 133–141, 157, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250

Suggests sources of literature by and about blacks. Develops a matrix according to author and subject orientation for seven types of writing. Additional titles in an appendix.

179. Potter, Thomas C. "Reading Comprehension among Minority Groups: Child-Generated Instructional Materials" 1968. ED 031 546

    Cloze testing showed children scored significantly better on dictated stories than on stories in commercial readers (controlled for Spache readability). Supports assumption that child comprehends best the idiom most closely approximating his own.

180. Roberts, Hermese E. "Don't Teach Them to Read" *Elementary English* 47: 638–640, May 1970

    Argues against delaying reading until child controls production of standard English. Urges community involvement in building language experience for reading, later relates other social dialects to social mobility and education.

181. Ruddell, Robert B. "The Effect of Oral and Written Patterns of Language Structure on Reading Comprehension" *The Reading Teacher* 18: 270–275, January 1965

    Cloze testing of fourth graders showed significant relation between frequency of oral patterns in written materials and reading comprehension. Reading comprehension is a function of the similarity of patterns with written materials.

182. Rystrom, Richard "Dialect Training and Reading: A Further Look" *Reading Research Quarterly* 5: 581–599, Summer 1970

    A group of Negro first graders taught structures of standard English did not advance in reading over control group. Suggests dialect readers or special cognitive training. (See 169, Kenneth Goodman, "Dialect Rejection and Reading: A Response")

183. Schneider, Murray *Develop-Medial Reading Program* Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1972

    A multimodal program for poor readers from third to sixth grade, carefully sequenced to keep achievement high, stressing game techniques. Pre- and post-test included with teacher's manual and booklets 1 to 10.

184. Schneider, Murray "Use Dialect Readers? The Middle Class Black Establishment Will Damn You If You Do. The Black Children Will Damn You If You Don't" *Florida FL Reporter* 9: 45, 46, 56, Spring/Fall 1971

    Describes his attempt to experiment with teaching initial reading with dialect readers and how it got sabotaged.

185. Serwer, B. L. "Linguistic Support for a Method of Teaching Beginning Reading to Black Children" *Reading Research Quarterly* 4: 449–467, Summer 1969

    Use of children's verbal output as corpus for reading instruction gave significant gains in reading over basal reader in third grade follow-up.

186. Shuy, Roger W. "Language Variation and Literacy" *Reading Goals for the Disadvantaged* edited by J. Allen Figurel. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1970, pp. 11–22. ED 043 457

    Urges development of readers with language closer to oral language of children. Teacher training courses should concentrate on primary core of language, rather than funding, administration, and so on.

187. Shuy, Roger W. "A Linguistic Background for Developing Beginning Reading Material for Black Children" *Teaching Black Children to Read*

edited by Joan Baratz and Roger W. Shuy. Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969. ED 025 761

Beginning reading materials should reflect the syntactic structures used orally by the learners. There is much room for improvement, especially for blacks with a set of different language patterns.

188. Shuy, Roger W. "Some Conditions for Developing Beginning Reading Materials for Ghetto Children" *Journal of Reading Behavior* 1: 33–43, Spring 1969 (Reprinted in 7 in this bibliography)

Initial readers for nonstandard speakers must avoid linguistic and cultural ambiguity and complex derivations. Extra redundance and inclusion of some dialect structures may be helpful.

189. Shuy, Roger W. "Some Language and Cultural Differences in a Theory of Reading" *Psycholinguistics and the Teaching of Reading* edited by Kenneth Goodman and James T. Fleming. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1968 (Reprinted in 7 in this bibliography)

Reading materials should be adapted to the language and culture of the child, not vice versa; and learning tasks must be approached in logical sequence.

190. Stewart, William A. "Current Issues in the Use of Negro Dialect in Beginning Reading Texts" *Florida FL Reporter* 8: 3–8, Spring/Fall 1970

Reviews controversy over difference-deficiency models of language, Negro self-image and derogation of his own language, and pleads for thorough objective testing of dialect readers for teaching beginning reading.

191. Stewart, William A. "On the Use of Negro Dialect in the Teaching of Reading" *Teaching Black Children to Read* edited by Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy. Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969, pp. 156–219. ED 025 761

Negro dialect is a well-formed, systematic code and should be used for beginning reading materials (probably in standard English orthography) to avoid difficulty of grammar differences and to provide a bridge to mainstream language skills.

192. Strickland, Dorothy S., Bernice E. Cullinan, and Angela M. Jaggar "Listening the Way to Reading Another English" *Early Years* November 1971, pp. 38–39

A program of reading literature to children, followed by intensive oral activities on specific patterns of speech, can expand ghetto children's control of standard English without deprecating their own speech.

193. Venezky, Richard L. "Nonstandard Language and Reading" *Elementary English* 47: 334-345, March 1970

Teaching reading in dialect is almost impossible in a mixed class; too expensive to develop materials for all nonstandard dialects of the U. S. Urges training teachers to accept dialect and minimize cultural differences in materials.

194. Wakefield, Mary W., and N. J. Silvarolli "A Study of Oral Language Patterns of Low Socioeconomic Groups" *The Reading Teacher* 22: 622–624, April 1969

Transcriptions of children's language were analyzed for sentence patterns and hesitations. Little difference was found between ethnic groups. Socioeconomic status seems to have much more effect than ethnicity.

195. Wardhaugh, Ronald *Reading: A Linguistic Perspective* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1969
Chapter 8, "Dialects," describes some phonological and grammatical differences among various dialects and reviews the arguments as to whether these differences have an important or only a minor influence on reading.

196. Weber, George *Inner-City Children Can Be Taught to Read: Four Successful Schools* Occasional Paper No. 18. Washington, D. C.: Council for Basic Education, 1971
Out of 22 inner-city schools, four had third graders reading at the national norm. Features common to these schools: strong leadership, high expectations, phonics, individualization, extra reading personnel, emphasis on reading, evaluation of progress.

197. Weber, Rose-Marie "Some Reservations on the Significance of a Dialect in the Acquisition of Reading" *Reading Goals for the Disadvantaged* edited by J. Allen Figurel. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1970, pp. 124–131. ED 043 457
Differences between black English and written standard are great, but so is child's ability to bridge differences. We have no empirical evidence for or against interference in reading.

Second Dialect

(See also 15, 17, 39, 45, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 104, 105, 116, 121, 129, 143, 153, 154, 159, 160, 169, 172, 183, 184, 192, 222, 227, 234, 236, 237, 240, 241, 242, 245, 253, 254, 255, 256, 261, 262)

198. Baratz, Joan C. "A Bi-Dialectal Task for Determining Language Proficiency in Economically Disadvantaged Negro Children" *Child Development* 40: 889–901, September 1969
Using observed differences in speech of black and white children, a sentence repetition test was used to sort for dialect primacy. Also notes 75 percent accuracy of judgment of race of speaker on basis of voice cues alone. Dialect speakers excelled on the dialect portion of the test, while standard English speakers performed better on the standard English portion.

199. Baratz, Joan C. "Should Black Children Learn White Dialect?" *ASHA* 12: 415–417, September 1970
Without giving up dialect, children need to learn standard English to exploit written materials and for professional jobs within and without the black community.

200. Baratz, Joan C. "Who Should Do What to Whom?" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 75–77, 158–159, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250
Standard English must be taught to black students for economic and social reasons. Teachers should know child's dialect and foreign-language teaching techniques and should be familiar with ghetto culture.

201. Cazden, Courtney, et al. "Going Home and Making It: The Attitudes

of Black People toward Language Education" *Harvard Graduate School of Education Bulletin* 14: 4–9, Spring 1970
Explores attitudes of parents, teachers, and community leaders toward place of dialect and standard English. Language skills in both black and standard dialects can help survival.

202. Dillard, J. L. "How to Tell the Bandits from the Good Guys: Or What Dialect to Teach?" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 84, 85, 162, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250
Teachers should not abandon teaching of a standard dialect, which is useful for most people, but they should tolerate other dialects and not try to eradicate them.

203. Erickson, Frederick "'F'get You Honkey!' A New Look at Black Dialect and the School" *Elementary English* 46: 495–499, 517, April 1969
Analysis of teenagers' language in discussion groups indicates that black English and informal white speech should be acceptable in classroom, and that "talking white" is not prerequisite to learning in school.

204. Feigenbaum, Irwin "The Use of Nonstandard English in Teaching Standard: Contrast and Comparison" *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City* edited by Ralph Fasold and Roger W. Shuy. Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970, pp. 87-104. ED 037 720
Discusses application to second-dialect teaching of techniques from foreign-language teaching: levels of appropriateness, contrastive analysis, use of drills.

205. Gladney, Mildred, and Lloyd Leaverton "A Model for Teaching Standard English to Non-Standard English Speakers" *Elementary English* 45: 758–763, October 1968. ED 016 232
Effort to work black English forms systematically toward standard English brought significant changes in only two structures. Urges teachers to accept children's dialect.

206. Harms, L. S. "Listener Judgements of Status Cues in Speech" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 47: 164–168, April 1961
Status and credibility of speakers are assigned by listeners on basis of speech, but correlation between these is not high socially.

207. Jacobson, Rodolpho "Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages and/or Dialects: An Oversimplification" *TESOL Quarterly* 4: 241–251, September 1970. ED 038 638
Black dialects, similar to standard English in lexicon, differ grammatically and phonologically, requiring different strategies. Middle-class nonstandard speakers require social motivation.

208. Johnson, Helen R. "Teacher Attitude and Ghetto Language" *Social and Educational Insights into Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects* Vol. 47 of *Viewpoints* Bulletin of the Indiana University School of Education, March 1971, pp. 75–83. ED 047 301
Language arts teachers should concentrate on expansion of language and communication, awareness of difference between etiquette and grammar, respect for variety in American culture.

209. Johnson, Kenneth R. "Should Black Children Learn Standard English?" *Social and Educational Insights into Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects* Vol. 47 of *Viewpoints* Bulletin

of the Indiana University School of Education, March 1971, pp. 83–103. ED 047 301

Realistically we must teach standard English in the schools as an alternative, as an educational tool. At primary levels dialect should be used to teach reading and subjects.

210. Johnson, Kenneth R. "Teacher's Attitude toward Nonstandard Negro Dialects: Let's Change It" *Elementary English* 48: 176–184, February 1971

Examines false assumptions underlying most attempts to teach standard English in schools. Black English is functional for child in most situations, standard English is functional only in school.

211. Kochman, Thomas "Social Factors in the Consideration of Teaching Standard English" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 87, 88, 157, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250

Speaking standard English doesn't remove the stigma of being black. Efforts to teach prestige forms are educationally wasteful unless students express desire to learn.

212. Labov, William *The Study of Non-Standard English* Washington, D. C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, 1969. ED 024 053

Discusses linguistic and sociolinguistic principles and assumptions backing a bidialectal approach for schools. Points out variability of some types of linguistic (grammar) rules.

213. Lefevre, Carl A. "Values in the Teaching of English and the Language Arts" *Position Papers from Language Education for the Disadvantaged* (Harold Allen et al.) Philadelphia: Temple University, 1968, pp. 11–16. ED 036 563

Stresses need for acceptance of dialect, knowledge of structure of English, cultural values of other communities, motivation for second dialect as key to literature and technology.

214. Peterson, Robert *Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect to Primary School Children in Hilo, Hawaii* Hilo: Hawaii State Department of Education, 1969. ED 037 707

Description of a four-year program including contrastive analysis, development of lesson materials, presentation of lessons, and evaluation strategy.

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Teacher Preparation

(See also 4, 26, 30, 81, 112, 124, 128, 149, 152, 154, 169, 172, 186, 257)

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Teachers of speakers of black dialects need preparation in anthropology, psychology, linguistics, and literature, and need these related to classroom problems.

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Teachers need linguistic training to perceive problems and prepare materials. Phonological differences, more in distribution than inventory, lead to extra homonyms and reinforce syntactic interference in past tense and possessive.

220. Davis, A. L., ed. *Culture, Class, and Language Variety* Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1972. ED 067 907

A collection of articles by Davis, Raven and Virginia McDavid, William Austin, William Card, covering much of what teachers need to know about social dialects from the fields of linguistics and anthropology.

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Teachers can do little about pupils' spoken language, but should use nonstandard to help in teaching reading and should learn that there are more crucial areas in writing than dialect differences.

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Research needs to be applied to overcome ineffectiveness of schools and hostility toward nonstandard speech and speakers, to improve training of teachers, and to improve communication systems.

223. Fraser, Bruce "Teaching and Dialect Differences" *Harvard Graduate School of Education Association Bulletin* 14: 10, 11, Spring 1970

Urges training for teachers in communicating with disadvantaged pupils, knowledge of both the dialect and culture differences.

224. Gleason, H. A., Jr. "The Grammars of English" *Position Papers from Language Education for the Disadvantaged* Harold Allen, et al. Philadelphia: Temple University, 1968, pp. 7–11. ED 036 563

School grammar should be built out of all elements of present grammar and others to fill school needs.

225. Imhoof, Maurice "The Preparation of Language Arts Teachers for Ghetto Schools" *Social and Educational Insights into Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects* Vol. 47 of *Viewpoints* Bulletin of the Indiana University School of Education, March 1971, pp. 125–138. ED 040 389

Language arts teachers must familiarize themselves with ghetto dialects, family and community structures, effects of poverty, peer group relations, and learning styles, and must reflect love rather than criticism.

226. Johnson, Kenneth R. *Teaching Culturally Disadvantaged Pupils (Grade K–12)* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1967. ED 029 927–ED 029 933
An in-service teacher training program discussing curriculum changes, IQ test bias, teacher attitudes, pupil motivation, learning styles.

227. New York City Board of Education *Nonstandard Dialect* Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1968. ED 021 248
Overview of phonetic and grammatical differences in dialects, need for special teacher training, specific classroom activities.

228. Robinett, Betty Wallace "Teacher Training for English as a Second Dialect and English as a Second Language: The Same or Different?" *Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects* edited by James E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics No. 22. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University, 1969
Analyzes the specific areas where an enlightened ESD course should differ from ESL training. Urges a program to provide sociolinguistic orientation to help the teacher use ESL techniques effectively.

229. Shuy, Roger W. "Detroit Speech: Careless, Awkward, and Inconsistent, or Systematic, Graceful, and Regular?" *Elementary English* 45: 565–569, May 1968. ED 022 155
Dialects are systematically different. Teachers must understand both dialect and standard in order to establish standard patterns rather than make haphazard "corrections."

230. Shuy, Roger W. "Teacher Training and Urban Language Problems" *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City* edited by Ralph Fasold and Roger W. Shuy. Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970, pp. 121–141. ED 037 720
Teacher training should include courses on nature of language, attitudes toward language, variation in language, fieldwork in the language of children, and teaching standard English to the disadvantaged.

231. Smith, Vernon "The Teacher's Prejudices and the Children's Dialects" *Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University* 45: 127–144, 1969
Criticizes expectation of teachers and linguists that we can add a dialect for minority children. We must teach children to read and to express themselves as well as they can.

232. Strickland, Ruth G. "What Children Need to Know about Language" *New Directions in Elementary English* edited by Alexander Frazier. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967, pp. 80–86. ED 033 098
Children should be taught that language is systematic, arbitrary, changeable, and that most speakers use more than one dialect. Language etiquette is a major need for many children.

233. Williams, Frederick, and Edward E. Rundell "Teaching Teachers to Comprehend Negro Nonstandard English" *The Speech Teacher* 20: 174–177, September 1971

Since the ghetto child is separated from the teacher more by production than by comprehension, teachers should be taught to understand more of ghetto speech. Listening to tapes with transcriptions increased teacher comprehension.

Teaching Techniques

(See also 38, 67, 82, 87, 112, 119, 120, 121, 131, 145, 149, 150, 153, 154, 160, 169, 175, 176, 179, 183, 185, 192, 204, 214, 220, 224, 228)

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235. Carroll, William S., and Irwin Feigenbaum "Teaching a Second Dialect and Some Implications for TESOL" *TESOL Quarterly* 1: 31–39, September 1967. ED 015 479
Black English grammar differs systematically from standard English. Second language teaching methods focused on teaching necessary appropriate forms which can provide alternate dialect.

236. Chomsky, Carol "Reading, Writing and Phonology" *Harvard Educational Review* 40: 287–309, May 1970
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237. Conville, Mozella P. "Language Improvement for Disadvantaged Elementary School Youngsters" *The Speech Teacher* 18: 120–123, March 1969
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Fifteen games for improving language proficiency, chosen for different sizes of class, style levels, particular aspects of language. Require little preparation, short but challenging.

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    Discusses specific differences needed to make drills useful and acceptable and to teach appropriateness of speech in given situations.

242. Finocchiaro, Mary *Let's Talk: A Book of Conversations* New York: Regents (Simon and Schuster), 1970. ED 039 518

    A book of dialogues for pattern practice, indexed by topic, useful for teaching oral standard English. A brief reference guide allows teachers to list pages useful for particular grammatical features.

243. Golden, Ruth I. *Improving Patterns of Language Usage* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966

    Examines problems encountered by middle-class, white teachers in predominantly black lower socioeconomic level urban schools. Suggests possible solutions. Provides lessons and exercises based on foreign-language teaching techniques.

244. Golden, Ruth I. "Learning Standard English by Linguistic Methods" 1968. ED 018 783

    Pre- and post-testing of high school students using tapes and language lessons showed significant change in pronunciation toward standard English and inclusion of copula.

245. Johnson, Kenneth R. "Pedagogical Problems of Using Second Language Techniques for Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Non-Standard Negro Dialect" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* edited by Alfred Aarons et al. Special Anthology Issue of *Florida FL Reporter* 7: 78–80, 154, Spring/Summer 1969. ED 014 250

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    Teachers must recognize large number of homonyms due to dialect differences in phonological and syntactic systems and must correct not differences in pronunciation but only mistakes of comprehension.

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Teachers must be trained to analyze and appreciate black English. Embedded questions and discourse need further study. Materials using our knowledge of black English need to be developed and disseminated.

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Black English: A Descriptive Guide for the Teacher

Estelle L. Fryburg

INTRODUCTION

Although there are differences between standard English dialects and the nonstandard dialects observed in the speech of lower-class blacks in the United States, linguists state that the number of similarities is probably greater than the number of differences (Labov et al., 1968; Fasold and Wolfram, 1970; Wolfram, 1970). However, black English, one of the many dialects of English, is a complete and distinct linguistic system with its own pronunciation rules and syntactic patterns. In some important ways it is different from standard English and these differences may influence the teacher's evaluation of the black-English speaker's academic achievement.

The teacher of reading must be familiar with the principal systematic differences in pronunciation and syntactic rules in order to evaluate accurately the oral reading of the black-English speaker. Without this knowledge, the teacher cannot distinguish between a pupil's oral misreading which is due to a lack of decoding skill and oral misreading which is due to dialectal differences with which the black-English speaker interprets and anticipates the lines of written material. For example, *He is walking down the street* may be read orally by the black-English speaker as *He be walkin' down de' skreet* or *He walkin' down de' skreet*.

In this example, the pupil's oral rendition of the printed script maintained the meaning of the standard-English sentence although he conformed to the pronunciation and syntactic rules of black English. Oral reading, employed as a diagnostic procedure, aids the teacher in the evaluation of the pupil's current functioning in reading and in the planning of an effective program of instruction. An understanding of the phonological rules involved in black English will make it clear to both teacher and student why so many forms which look different sound alike. It will also help clarify the observed syntactic differences between black English and standard English.

The following is a brief guide to the principal pronunciation and syntactic differences between black English and standard English. In many instances, pronunciation differences affect inflectional markers and appear to be the basis for the observed syntactic differences.

PRONUNCIATION

In all varieties of spoken English, the sounds at the ends of words, as represented in their written form, may not be precisely articulated by the speaker. The weakening of the final sounds is affected by two major factors.

The first factor is whether the following word begins with a vowel sound or a consonant sound. When a word ending in a consonant sound precedes a word beginning with a vowel sound, there is a greater likelihood that the speaker will articulate the complete sound:

firs*t* *i*n line—*t* of *first* generally articulated

firs*t* *t*ime around—*t* of *first* generally assimilated

The second factor is whether the final consonant cluster is part of the root of the word, or involves an inflectional ending:

mi*st*—*st* is generally articulated

mi*ts*—*ts* is generally articulated in standard English but the *s* is generally assimilated in black English.

miss*ed*—*ed* is generally articulated in standard English but is generally assimilated in black English.

Consonants

In black English the weakening of final consonants may be carried further than is acceptable in standard English, typically for the final sounds, *-r*, *-l*, *-t*, *-d*, *-s*, *-z*, and, to a lesser degree, *-n*. These consonant phonemes may have alternative realizations both in the middle of words and at the ends of words.

The *r*. Black-English speakers demonstrate a high degree of *r*-lessness. When a consonant precedes the *r* and a vowel follows, the sound of the *r* may disappear:

threw pronounced as *thoo*

However, before front vowels the *r* is normally retained:

free pronounced as *free* (not fee)

Between vowels, *r* may disappear:

Carol pronounced at *Ca'l*

The *r* may be vocalized or lost at the ends of words:

sure pronounced as *sho'*

their pronounced as *they*
for pronounced as *fo'*

This final *-r*, often lost in black-English pronunciation, is also the possessive marker in *their* and *your*, and its loss may influence communication between standard-English speakers and black-English speakers in the following ways:

1. The standard-English speaker may misinterpret the black-English speaker's pronunciation as indicative of syntactic error, rather than pronunciation difference.
2. The black-English speaker may not realize the complete and/or exact meaning of the material he reads.
3. The pronunciation differences between black English and standard English may affect the black-English speaker's spelling.
4. In syntax, weakening of the final *-r* is probably also responsible for the deletion of *are* frequently observed in black English: *We here. We goin' home.*

The *l*. Like *r*, *l* may be vocalized or lost, particularly at the ends of words:

tool pronounced as *too*

In syntax, weakening of the *-l* affects the future tense. The contracted *'ll* for *will* is frequently vocalized to *-a* in black English or disappears:

I be here (derived from *I* + *will* + *be* + *here*, Labov, et al., 1968, p. 113)

The *th*. The articulation of *th* sounds, both voiced /ð/ as in *mother* and voiceless /θ/ as in *tooth* may be shifted so that they sound like *v* and *f* respectively, primarily in the middle and at the ends of words:

mother pronounced as *muvver*
either pronounced as *efer*
tooth pronounced as *toof*
bathe pronounced as *bave*

In all positions these sounds may also follow the pattern of other nonstandard dialects and be realized as *d* and *t* respectively:

this pronounced as *dis*
brother pronounced as *brudder*
breathe pronounced as *breed*

The *ing*. Black English, like some dialects of English, tends to "drop the final *g*" in unstressed *-ing* in casual speech. Black English differs from standard English primarily in a wider use of dropping the *-g*.

Formal—go*ing;* Informal—go*in,*
Formal—fish*ing;* Informal—fish*in'*

Consonant Clusters

The most frequent consonant clusters occurring in English are those with *t, d,* or *s* (which may be pronounced /s/ or /z/ as the last element of the cluster. These sounds comprise the most important inflectional markers in English:

-t and *-d* indicate past tense and past participle

-s and *-z* indicate third person singular, present form of the verb; the plural; the possessive; the adverbial *-s* as in *besides*

Though these clusters are seldom simplified in standard English they are often simplified in black English, even if the second consonant signals a grammatical feature such as a marked tense or a plural:

Standard English	*Black English*
He jumped up	He jump up
He missed	He miss
The man was stopped on the street	The man was stop on the skreet
Five cents	Five cent
Hazel's house	Hazel house
Besides, he knew them	Beside, he knew them
He works hard	He work hard

It should be noted that the simplification of *-ed,* indicating the past tense, is applied primarily to regular verbs by the black-English speaker. The oral reading of irregular verbs (texts employ a majority of irregular verbs) shows the past tense forms, often by vowel changes. The black-English speaker usually says, *I gave it to him* and *I told him,* not *I give it to him* and *I tell him* (Labov et al., 1968, p. 138).

Clusters ending in *-s* also include contractions such as standard English *that's* and *let's.* In these the *t* is lost or merged with the *-s* to produce black English *Tha's dumb* or *Le's get out.*

Final Consonant Clusters *-sk, -sp, -st.* The frequency of simplification of final *-sk, -sp,* and *-st* among black-English speakers is so high that one may assume that it is a general rule. In such cases the standard-English rule for plural formation of words ending in sibilants is usually followed, producing forms which avoid the still more difficult triple clusters, *-sks, -sps, -sts.*

Standard English—desk; test; wasp
Black English—des'; tes'; was'
Black English Plural—desses; tesses; wasses (sometimes *was* or *waspes*)

Initial Consonant Clusters. Several clusters at the beginning of words may be pronounced differently in black English from the way they are pronounced in standard English. *Thr-* may be pronounced without the *r* or the *th* sound may become *t-*:

throw becomes *th'ow* or *t'row*

Shr- may be pronounced *sr-* or sometimes *sw-* or *shw-*:

shrimp becomes *srimp* or *swimp*

Str- may be pronounced *skr-*:

street may be pronounced *skreet.*

Pr- when it appears in an unstressed syllable, may be produced with a weakened *r*:

protect may become *p'otect.*

VOWELS

Some regional dialects differ from each other in the sounds which systematically distinguish pairs of words. The following pairs of words are sometimes pronounced to rhyme with one another in black English: *steer, stare; tour, tore; time, Tom; boil, ball; fire, far; pin, pen.*

SYNTAX

The differences in pronunciation between black English and standard English influence the grammatical patterns which distinguish black English. The most important patterns are listed below. A number of syntactic patterns, while not unique to black English, occur with considerably greater frequency among black speakers than among other nonstandard speakers or among regional standard speakers.

Within a community of black-English speakers, there is considerable variation among speakers both in the grammatical features which are present or absent and in the frequency with which they occur. It is important to note that no one speaker uses any of the patterns consistently all of the time.

Linguistic Feature	*Standard English*	*Black English*
1. Agreement of third person singular subject with present tense verb	*Mamie pays*	*Mamie pay*
2. Noun plurals	*seven cents*	*seven cent*
3. Noun possessives	*Susan's chair*	*Susan chair*

These three syntactic elements employ the same phonological signal, and the black-English speaker, deleting the final *-s* of the consonant cluster, produces the illustrated patterns.

4. Simple past tense	*They walked*	*They walk*

In this syntactic structure, the black-English speaker deletes the *-ed* cluster.

5. Linking verb	*Joan is a bright kid*	*Joan a bright kid*
(Copula)	*Joan's a bright kid*	*Joan a bright kid*

A general principle operative here is that wherever standard English can contract, black English can delete *is* and *are*. However, wherever standard English cannot contract, black English cannot delete (Labov et al., 1968, p. 185).

6. The invariant verb *be* to express general or habitual action	*She is generally here when I get back*	*She be here when I get back*

This feature is unique to black English and is not shared by standard English or any other nonstandard dialect of English.

7. The formation of compound pasts	*Sarah has played the record*	*Sarah done play the record* (action completed) *Sarah been play the record* (distant past)

Done may also express intensification of the action.

8. Negation	*Mom never goes anywhere*	*Mom never goes nowhere*
	They don't have a car	*They ain't got no car* *They don't got no car*

CONCLUSION

Teachers should be familiar with the differences in pronunciation and syntax which distinguish standard English and black English. Emphasis should be placed on the grammatical variables, rather than phonological differences which are important only when they influence the syntax, for reading is not merely translating written symbols into sound. The reading process involves the translation of graphic symbols into the meaning intended by the writer. Since variations in the pronunciation of the black-English speaker may not indicate his comprehension of the written material, the teacher must be able to distinguish between differences in dialectal pronunciation and erroneous interpretation of the written material.

The teacher should bear in mind that there is variation also among speakers of the same dialect, and that the situation surrounding the speech event will often cause variation within the speech patterns of a single speaker. Familiarity with the differences between standard

English and black English can help the teacher evaluate individual students' language patterns and establish priorities for effective instruction in reading, writing, and oral language programs.

For a more detailed discussion of the elements presented in this paper, the reader is directed to the following references.

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GLOSSARY

Allophone—one of the cluster of sounds within a phoneme. Use of one allophone or another in a given utterance makes no difference in the meaning of the utterance. Example: The aspirated *p* used by English speakers at the beginning of *pit* is not usual at the end of *stop*, but would not change the meaning to the hearer.

Aspect—the indication of distribution of an action (duration or repetition) through the form of the verb.

Assimilation—the process by which a sound comes to resemble another sound, or becomes identified with another sound and disappears. Examples: In rapid speech *going to* becomes *gonna;* the phrase *first day in town* is often pronounced *firs' day in town.*

Auditory discrimination—the ability to distinguish similarities and differences in the sounds and sound patterns of language.

Bidialectal—proficient in understanding and using two dialects of a given language.

Black English—dialects usually (but not exclusively) spoken by low socioeconomic level blacks among themselves, and characterized by the presence of a significant proportion of particular phonological and syntactic features different from standard English.

Cognitive deficit—an inadequacy in intellectual functioning often inferred from observations about language.

Consonant blend (consonant cluster)—two or more adjacent consonant sounds which are pronounced together. They may appear at the beginning, middle, or end of words. Examples: *scream, banding, just.*

Contrastive analysis—the systematic study of the significant differences between features of two languages or dialects.

Dialect—a distinctive variety of a language spoken by members of a homogeneous speech community, which can be differentiated from another variety of the same language by objective analysis of systematic differences in phonological, morphological and syntactic features.

Grapheme: a functional unit of written language. (Examples: the letter a, the digit 1.)

Inflectional ending: an addition to a word, usually a suffix or affix, that changes the form of a word without changing its basic meaning. Examples: [illegible]

Language: a structured system of arbitrary vocal symbols used for interpersonal communication, which gives meaning by relating the vocal sounds and processes of human experience. [illegible] of Language [illegible]

A language: a group of mutually intelligible dialects and social dialects.

Linguistic apartheid: discrimination against a social group on the basis of the variety of language usually spoken within the group.

Morpheme: the minimum unit of language that carries meaning. Example: [illegible]

Morphology: the study of the sequences and system by which sounds are formed into the meaningful units of a language.

Pattern practice: guided repetition. [illegible] dialect features as they occur in the context of speech.

Phoneme: a cluster of similar sounds which are perceived by native speakers as an entity which distinguishes meanings in the utterances of their language. Example: [illegible] but English speakers perceive all of these as the phoneme /p/ which distinguishes words like [illegible]

Phonic analysis: a procedure by which beginning readers are taught to use their knowledge of their sound system to decode written language.

Phonology: the study of the system of speech sounds (phonemes) of a language.

Pidgin: a language greatly reduced in structure and lexicon, used for communication between people who have no common language, and not the native language of anyone who uses it.

Root: the core of a word, which carries the principal meaning. Example: *happy* in the words *happier, happily, unhappy.*

Standard English: a prestige dialect generally spoken by educated Americans in the conduct of professional and government business and used in most writing. (Network standard is the variety of standard speech patterns used by announcers and news commentators on radio and television.)

Zero copula: absence of a linking verb (is or are) where Standard English requires one. Example: *Mother busy* means *Mother is busy.*